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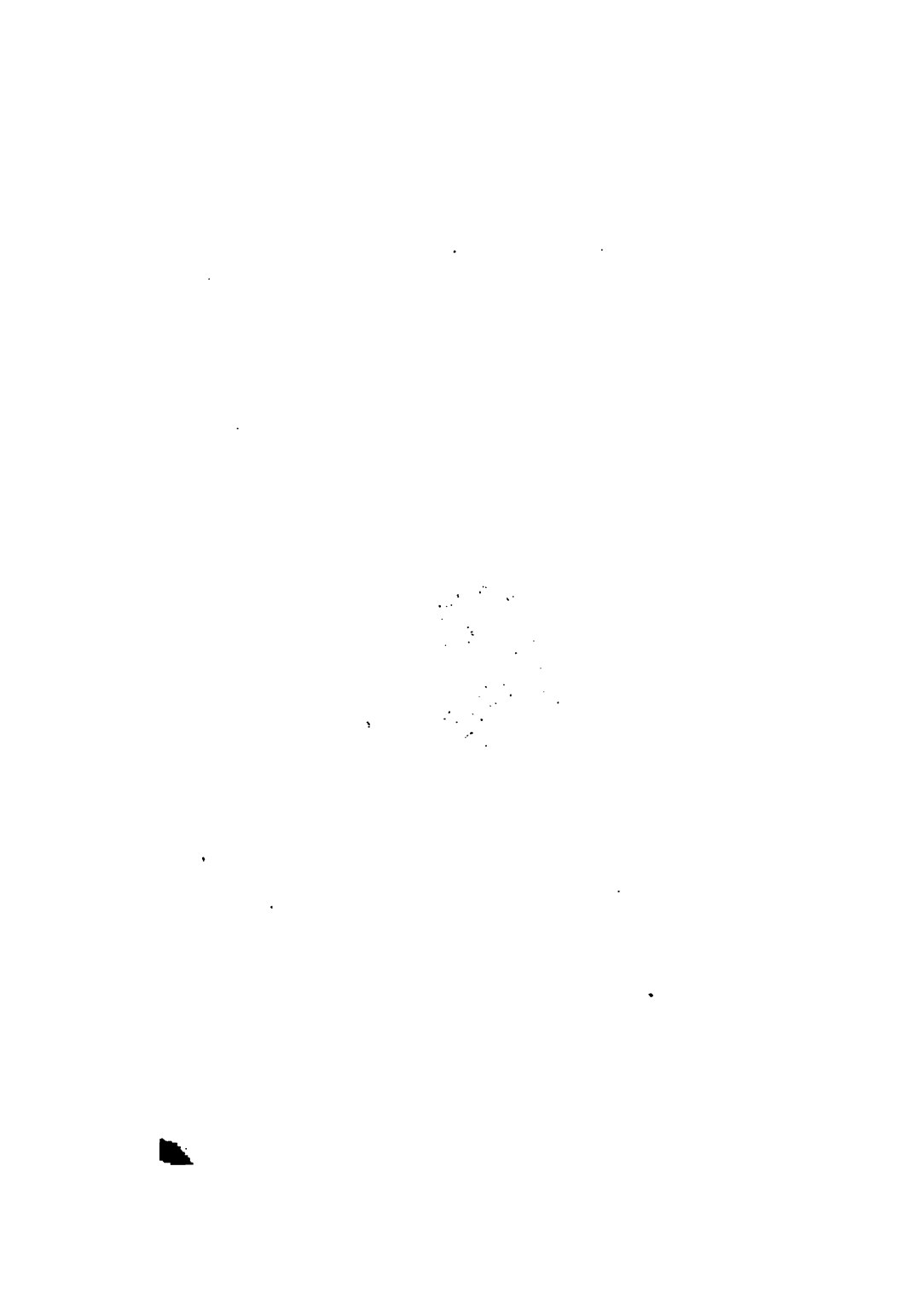




THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

MONTROSE.







Montrose

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
MONTROSE:

ILLUSTRATED FROM
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, INCLUDING FAMILY PAPERS NOW
FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE MONTROSE CHARTER-CHEST
AND OTHER PRIVATE REPOSITORIES.


By MARK NAPIER, Esq. ADVOCATE.

WITH PORTRAITS AND AUTOGRAPHS.

EDINBURGH :
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AND SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO., LONDON.

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TO HIS GRACE
THE DUKE OF MONTROSE.

MY LORD DUKE,

PERMIT me to dedicate to your Grace this Life of your heroic ancestor. My object has been to prove, that when Mr Hallam, in 1827, characterized the Great MONTROSE as one "abhorred, and very justly, for his treachery and cruelty, above all men living," he had rashly sacrificed the integrity of History to the calumnies of an unscrupulous faction ; and that when the Hero himself, in 1641, told the Scottish Parliament " My resolution is to carry along with me fidelity and honour to the grave," he uttered a sentiment of his generous nature which he never belied, and which eventually he sealed with his blood. If, in the development of his sad but instructive story, it should also happen to be demonstrated, that the triumph of Presbyterian claims to a lawless dominion, and of fanatical pretensions to divine authority, is a condition of the Church incompatible with the very existence of a Christian community,—that moral, it is hoped, will not render the Volume less useful in these times, or less acceptable to your Grace.

I am,

MY LORD DUKE,

Your Grace's very faithful and

Obliged humble servant,

MARK NAPIER.






PREFACE.

Two years ago I published a work entitled "Montrose and the Covenanters," with a view not merely to illustrate the life of the Great Marquis, but in order to lay before such readers as are curious in historical antiquities, various original documents, which seemed to shed some new lights upon the eventful and interesting period during which he bore so conspicuous a part. The object of that performance is so far attained, that even those who are more desirous to perpetuate calumnies against the hero than to see him exonerated, must find their invectives restrained by an exposure of the iniquities of the Covenant, not less than by an illustration of the high principles and honourable feelings upon which Montrose acted in opposition to it. But it has, nevertheless, been suggested that a Life of this great man, deduced from the original materials, and compressed into a single volume of a more popular cast, would be acceptable to the public. While in the progress of composing this smaller work, I have been so fortunate as to acquire additional materials which cannot fail to recommend it to all who are not contented to take their ideas of public characters, or derive their knowledge of historical events, from the eulogies of biographers or the party spirit of historians.

When the former publication was completed, it was supposed that little or nothing had been preserved in the family archives




which could give any farther aid to the writer of his Life. A recent search, however, for which the Duke of Montrose in the most liberal manner afforded every facility, has brought to light various original letters and documents, connected with those important services to the house of Stuart in which the hero of these pages sacrificed every thing but his honour. The fact was hitherto unknown to history that so much of the correspondence of Charles I. and Charles II. with their renowned General, from 1641 to 1650, had been preserved in the charter-chest of his family; and his lineal representative, the present Duke, is well entitled to the thanks of all who take an interest in the authentic annals of their country, for his kind permission to make them public.

This volume is also much indebted to the liberality of Sir John Hope, Bart. of Craighall and Pinkie, in communicating the Diary of his distinguished ancestor, Sir Thomas Hope, so well known as Lord Advocate for Scotland during the greater part of the reign of Charles the First. Neither had this interesting manuscript been formerly heard of, the entire publication of which is a desideratum in our national literature. Meanwhile, I have been kindly permitted to use it in illustration of the "Life and Times of Montrose;" and in the numerous quotations which I have been induced to make, I have thought it proper to give the precise words of this very curious record, with the exception, in some instances, of the antiquated orthography.

To Mr Stirling of Keir I am indebted for the communication of a letter, from Montrose to that gentleman's ancestor, which had not hitherto been printed. I must also acknowledge the accession to these pages of the valuable stores recently discovered in the Cumbernauld charter-chest, containing the

papers of Montrose's friend and relative, the Earl of Wigton. These, as mentioned in the course of the biography, are about to be published for one of the antiquarian clubs in Scotland, under the superintendence of Mr Dennistoun, to whom, and also to Mr MacDonald of the Register House, my best thanks are due, for putting into my hands these important illustrations of the conduct and character of the great leader.

In delineating the several battles in which Montrose commanded, I have been enabled to add, to the vivid descriptions contained in Dr Wishart's elegant and classic apology, some graphic details from contemporary manuscripts: A private record written in Gaelic, and entitled "The Little Book of Claranald," to distinguish it from another old MS. named "Lober-Derg," or the Red Book, also belonging to the same family, has been made available to me by Mr W. F. Skene, whose able researches on the subject of the Scottish Highlands are well known; and to the polite attention of Mr John Stuart, advocate, Aberdeen, I am indebted for the communication of the MS. History of Montrose's times, written by Patrick Gordon of Cluny, who lived at the period. To Mr Stewart Jolly, factor to the Duke of Montrose, I have to acknowledge my obligations, for his attention in facilitating access to the archives at Buchanan House, and for the communication of a spirited drawing from Vandyke's portrait of the heroic commander. The engraving, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, is founded on those published at different times by Dr Birch and Mr Lodge, collated with the copy just mentioned. Other contributions are acknowledged in the different parts of the work where they are inserted. The autograph under the portrait is selected, as a good specimen, from the Montrose MSS. preserved in the Advocates' Library; and the two lines of his



handwriting, which will be found in the Appendix, p. 522, are taken from the original draft of his defences to the libel of 1641. A very accurate fac-simile of one of Charles the First's letters preserved in the Montrose charter-chest, is also given at p. 421. The engraving of Lord Napier, who was said to be inseparable from his illustrious uncle, is taken from the original painting by Jameson, in possession of the nobleman who now inherits the title.

I am sorry that owing to want of space the whole of the poetical pieces are not inserted in the Appendix. But there is less cause for regret as they are collected at the close of the larger work already mentioned ; while throughout the present volume are interspersed some of the most favourable specimens, including a few which had hitherto escaped observation.

EDINBURGH, *September* 1840.


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THE
LIFE OF MONTROSE.

CHAPTER I.

Montrose's Parentage and Boyhood—Educated under the Superintendence of Lord Napier of Merchiston—Character of that Nobleman—Montrose's early Marriage—His Travels—Mistaken Idea that he commanded the Scottish Guard of France—Contemporary Account of his Studies and Occupations Abroad—Notice of him in the Records of the English College in Rome—Returns from Abroad—Is repulsed at Court through the Intrigue of the Marquis of Hamilton—Retires to Scotland, but does not immediately join the Faction there.

JAMES GRAHAM, fifth earl and first marquis of Montrose, was in the fourteenth year of his age when his father, John, the fourth earl, died in November 1626. The future hero succeeded to his paternal honours and estates soon after Charles the First ascended the throne. Of his ancestors it may be observed, that though of high lineage, courage, and patriotic loyalty, they were not historically remarkable. His father, cut off by an untimely death, had been constituted President of the Council shortly before. His grandfather was High-treasurer, Chancellor, and finally Viceroy of Scotland on the accession of James to the throne of England. Robert lord Graham, his great-grandfather, fell at the battle of Pinkie; whose immediate progenitor, the third lord, and first earl of Montrose, was slain at Flodden. But the most distinguished of this race

was Sir John Graham of Dundaff (the friend of Sir William Wallace), who gained a high name at the battle of Falkirk, where he was killed 22d July 1298. The family possessed some property in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, inherited from this worthy, who lies in the church there, according to the inscription on his tomb,—

*Mente manumque potens, et Vallæ fidus Achates,
Conditus hic Gramus, bello interfectus ab Anglis.*

The mother of Montrose was Lady Margaret Ruthven, eldest daughter of William first earl of Gowrie. He was her only son; but there were five daughters, whose names were Lillias, Margaret, Dorothea, Beatrix, and Catherine. Of these sisters, the second in order, who was the wife of Lord Napier his tutor, must have had some charge of his youth; while towards Beatrix, at least, it will be found that he himself acted the part of a father.

There are traditions which would go to prove that both his parents were superstitious, or at least were anxious to dive into futurity respecting the fate of their son. A contemporary statesman, and chronicler, the well-known Scot of Scotstarvet, asserts that "Montrose's mother consulted with witches at his birth;" a circumstance not unlikely to have happened, considering the manners of those unenlightened times, joined to the fact that the countess was sister to the necromantic chief who was the hero of the Gowrie Conspiracy. The same author adds, that "Montrose's father said to a gentleman, who was sent to visit him from a neighbouring earl, that this child would trouble all Scotland." Wishart informs us, that his resolute and undaunted spirit began to appear, "to the wonder and expectation of all men, even in his childhood." But this writer has recorded no sayings or incidents of his early days; and this is the more to be regretted, as he had every means of acquiring intelligence respecting the domestic history of his hero. Scot professed to be more particularly informed; for he tells us "Montrose is said also to have eaten a toad while he was a

sucking child." The accomplished editor of Kirkton's *History of the Church of Scotland** seems to admit the truth of this anecdote, but only for the sake of adding the caustic remark, that his appetite was yet more depraved in youth, when he swallowed the Covenant! In the note below, however, will be found reason for believing that this trait attributed to Montrose's infancy, as well as the alleged prediction by his father, has been transferred from the nursery annals of the Regent Morton.†

It would be important to his biography, could we discover more facts connected with his boyhood and education. According to the popular accounts of him, as derived from writers even of the present day, who are inimical to the monarchical principles in defence of which Montrose sacrificed his

* Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.

† Scotstarvet must have thrown this mud at random; for in an old contemporary MS. of the times of Mary, being an historical defence of that unfortunate queen, the same anecdote is thus told of the *Regent Morton*: "Morton had credite at the Courte, being left there by the traitoures to give intelligence how all maters past there, and how to betray his Mistres; for they could not chuse a more fitte man than him to do such an act, who from his very youth had been renounced for his treacherie, and of whome his own father had no good opinion in his very infance; for at a certane time his nurse coming forth with him in a garden where his father was, with some that had come to visite him, busie in talk, the nurse setting down the childe on the greene grasse, and not much mindinge him, the boy seeth a toade which he snatched up, and had eaten it all till a little of the legges; which when shee saw, shee cried out, thinking he shoulde have been poisoned; and shee taking the legges of the toade that he had left as yet on-eaten, he cried out so loude and shrill, that his father and the other gentlemen, who were not far, heard the outcries, who sent to see what should be the cause; and when the messenger returned and told the mater as it happned, in all haiste he come where his son was, and, understanding as it was, he caused give the legges also, which he greedilie ate up also; which the father seeing said, 'the Dewill chewe thee, or burst thee, there will never come goode of thee.' As he prognosticated so it happned, for after, he was beheaded at Edinburgh, attainted, and found guiltie of heigh treason for the murder of the King his maister."

life, his character is an unsolved problem in human nature. They have attributed to him the vices of the mean, the cruel, and the cowardly ; yet they cannot disguise that these were strangely mingled with the accomplishments of the scholar and the gentleman,—with some of the highest attributes of a soldier,—that he was greatly daring in his actions, and gently heroic under the aggravated horrors of an ignominious death. Who had sown the tares in this generous soil ? Where, and how soon had the mind of this nobleman acquired its darker hues ? Who poured into his young ear the precepts of murder ? Were the lessons of the assassin inculcated with the classic lore which unquestionably distinguished him ; and was he sent abroad, not merely to perfect himself in those ingenuous arts and accomplishments which blended so gracefully, though sadly, with his warlike plume, but that he might become familiarized with the Italian posset and stiletto !*

Although Montrose was not more than fourteen years of age when his father died, it cannot be pleaded, in extenuation of whatever is to be condemned in his dispositions and habits, that he was left thus early master of himself. His sister, Lady

* Mr Brodie, in his "History of the British Empire," has repeatedly accused Montrose of murder, assassination, and every evil propensity which disgraces and degrades the human character. It is almost unnecessary to add, that this is done not only without, but contrary to, existing evidence. Lord Nugent, in his life of Hampden, has compressed Mr Brodie's voluminous calumny into this pointed sentence : "Montrose was one whose restless spirit was never stayed, by any considerations, from pursuing, by any means of violence and fraud, the destruction of any man who thwarted his objects of intrigue, or obstructed the views of his high-reaching ambition." Mr D'Israeli, in his Commentaries upon the Life and Reign of Charles I., too much absorbed, it would seem, in depicting the monarch, to extend his researches in favour of Montrose, has carelessly admitted the truth of that absurd anecdote of his having made an offer to his humane sovereign, to assassinate with his own hand Hamilton and Argyle. Upon this calumny, which can be so thoroughly refuted, this author had only exercised his critical powers to the extent of tracing the school at which Montrose is supposed to have had acquired the propensity, namely, the court of France.

Margaret Graham, in 1619 became the wife of Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, afterwards Lord Napier, who was named, by his father-in-law the old earl, one of the tutors of his only son. Upon this nobleman accordingly devolved the chief care of his boyhood, and, indeed, the counselling of his subsequent career. Dr Wishart, who was intimately acquainted with Napier, and at times domesticated in his family, notices his death, immediately after the defeat of our hero at Philiphaugh, in these remarkable words, which I quote from the English edition, printed at the Hague during his exile, and which may be considered equivalent to the words of Montrose himself :—

“About this time the Lord Napier of Merchiston departed this life in Atholl ; a man of a most innocent life, and happy parts, a truly noble gentleman, and chief of an ancient family ; one who equalled his father and grandfather Napiers (philosophers and mathematicians famous through all the world), in other things, but far exceeded them in his dexterity in civil business,—a man as faithful, and as highly esteemed by King James and King Charles. Sometime he was Lord Treasurer,*

* This is a mistake in the translation. Napier was Treasurer-depute under the Earl of Mar, who was Lord Treasurer. Mar was anxious to enjoy the office without a deputy, but when James appointed Napier, the Treasurer wrote the following letter to his Majesty :—“*MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN*, I received your Majesty's letter of the 21st of October, shewing that ye have made choice of Sir Archibald Napier to be Treasurer-depute of this kingdom, with the motives moving your Majesty to take this course. Since your Majesty hath so resolved, I shall in all humility obey your direction. As for the gentleman, he is known to be both judicious and honest, and, *as your Majesty writes in your own letter, free of partiality or any factious humour*, and I, with all my heart, do wish that all your Majesty's subjects were as free of these two faults as I hope time shall make known to your Majesty that both he and I are ; in which respects your Majesty *hath made a good choice*. For myself, my care and pains shall be nothing the less in furthering of your Majesty's service, in all things incident to that place which your Majesty hath honoured me with ; and beseeching Almighty God to bless your Majesty with many happy days, I rest your Majesty's most humble subject and servitor,—

“MAR.”

“*Holyrood House, the 24th of November 1622.*”—*Orig. MS.*

and was deservedly advanced into the rank of the higher nobility; and, since those times, had expressed so much loyalty and love to the king, that he was a large partaker of the rewards which rebels bestow upon virtue,—often imprisonment, sequestration, and plunder. This man, Montrose, when he was a boy, looked upon as a most tender father,—when he was a youth, as a most sage admonitor,—when he was a man, as a most faithful friend; and now that he died, was no otherwise affected with his death than as if it had been his father's. Whose most elaborate discourses of the right of kings, and of the original of the turmoils in Great Britain, I heartily wish may sometime come to light."

The nobleman thus eulogized was one of the most able and respected of the privy council for Scotland, of which he continued a member from his admission in the year 1615, until excluded by the covenanting government in 1641. In 1622, he was appointed justice-clerk,* and also an ordinary lord of Session. In 1626, the epoch at which he entered upon the guardianship of Montrose, he became an extraordinary lord of Session, and in the following year was raised to the dignities of a baronet of Nova Scotia, and a baron of Scotland as Lord Napier of Merchiston.

It was between the year last mentioned when Montrose's father died, and 1633, the date when he himself set out on his travels, that Lord Napier had been to him "a most tender father." During this interval, the spirit of faction which dis-

* This appointment called forth another testimonial to the character of Montrose's revered tutor and adviser: Colville, the justice-depute, writing upon this occasion to the Viscount of Annand, says, "My honourable lord, It is not very long since I wrote to your lordship anent the election of a justice-clerk, and now I perceive that his Majesty, by his happy choice of Sir Archibald Napier, a worthy gentleman, and a conscientious, hath been both informed and furthered to do so by your Lordship, wherein your Lordship has performed a worthy work, and acceptable to God, and a singular service to his Majesty, and an exceeding pleasure to your countrymen."—*Orig. MS.*, 20th December 1622.

graced the Scottish nobility of that age, and which afterwards attained so disastrous an issue in the covenanting movement, stirred in more obscure and petty channels. Charles I. himself informed Napier that his father, King James, a little before his death, had recommended him to the royal patronage; and he, accordingly, was the first Scotchman upon whom this unfortunate prince conferred a peerage. This joined to other favours gave rise at court to a private cabal against him, a storm through which his unflinching integrity bore him with safety and honour. The period embraced by the relation which his lordship has left of these events, is from the beginning of Charles's reign in 1625 to the time of his celebrated visit to Scotland in 1633. It was written soon after the coronation, and while Montrose was on the continent. The narrative is interspersed with curious anecdotes of the growth of faction, and sketches of public characters, furnishing so suitable an introduction to the scenes which soon afterwards ushered in the great rebellion, that it is the more to be regretted he did not live to compose the work he seems to have contemplated, namely, a history of the rise and progress of the troubles in his native land. It is not too much to say, judging from his manuscripts, of which some use will be made in tracing the career of his brother-in-law, that, had he completed his design, Napier would have shone as the Clarendon of Scotland.

It is interesting to trace, in some of these historical remains, the nervous and learned style, interspersed with classical allusions and quotations, which (as will appear from examples to be afterwards afforded) characterizes the literary compositions of Montrose himself. Indeed, in some of Montrose's writings whole sentences are met with, maintaining the same political sentiments and maxims of government, and expressed in the very words that occur in Lord Napier's manuscripts. The coincidence may be easily explained by that interesting relationship between them to which Dr Wishart refers; and, consequently, in his guardian's conduct and character, we have an outline of the principles, public and private, which must have been instilled

into the youthful mind of Montrose. Moreover, we derive, from what remains of the papers in question, some very curious information relative to that critical period of the young soldier's career, when both he and Napier were becoming sensible of the insidious approaches of a masked faction against the Throne. They afford a complete exposure of the political calumnies upon which both of these noblemen, and some of their friends, were so virulently pursued by the Committee of Estates in 1641, on the pretext of what was termed "the Plot," out of which arose "the Incident," the shadow of a shade. Amongst these interesting documents, are found their own account of the circumstances which induced them to place themselves in opposition to the covenanting government ; and also the original draft of their private advice, written to Charles himself, which will be produced in the sequel.

Such, then, were the auspices under which Montrose was nurtured after the death of his father. To complete his education he was sent abroad, but not, it appears, until he had married, and was the father of two boys. It is said that his guardians advised him to enter into matrimony thus early, as he was an only son. That this event took place when he was quite a youth, appears by the fact of his eldest child being sixteen years of age in 1645. His lady was Magdalene, a daughter of Lord Carnegy of Kinnaird, afterwards first Earl of Southesk. This early union interrupted his studies, and deprived the Scottish universities of the honour of his education ; but when we consider that, at the age of four-and-twenty, three years of which had been occupied in his travels, he entered those stormy scenes of public life from which he was never afterwards free, the love of letters and the scholarship which undoubtedly characterized him, afford the most unequivocal proofs of his studious habits, as well as of a quick apprehension and great mental vigour.

Montrose's two sons, the youngest of whom was born about the beginning of 1633, constituted his whole family. Of their

mother, it is remarkable that no notice is to be met with, so far as I have been able to discover, either during his public career, or after his death. She is not mentioned by Wishart, Guthry, or Spalding ; and in the diary of the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour, which contains a copious obituary of the nobility during the period of Montrose's history, the name of the countess is not to be discovered. Nor is she noticed by Sir Thomas Hope (in his Diary to be afterwards quoted, and which embraces the whole interval betwixt the years 1633 and 1646), although he frequently makes mention of her father the Earl of Southesk, and notes the deaths of various persons of quality both male and female. Probably this lady had died soon after giving birth to her second child. It can be ascertained with tolerable certainty, that her husband first left home to travel on the continent in the year 1633 ; and perhaps this was immediately after he had been deprived of his consort, who certainly did not accompany him abroad.

A mutual discharge of all actions betwixt James earl of Montrose, with consent of his curators, and the Earl of Perth, dated at Edinburgh, on the 22d October 1632, proves that the former was then in his own country, and a minor, while the fact coincides with his age as recorded by Dr Wishart. In the Lord Lyon's list of noblemen who attended Charles I. at his coronation in the Scottish capital, which occurred in the month of June 1633, his name is marked with the word "absent" after it. Now, it was of an intermediate date, that is, early in the year 1633, that George lord Gordon (eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly), who had been commissioned some years before by Louis XIII. as "*Capitaine de ma compagnie d'hommes d'armes Eccossois*," passed to the continent, and (according to a manuscript history of the family of Gordon) "conducted with him from Scotland the bravest company of Scotch gens d'armes that had ever been seen in France, all of them gentlemen ; and the Baron Grey, one of the most ancient barons in Scotland, for their lieutenant." It has generally been supposed, that Montrose commanded this renowned Scottish Guard.

Hence Heylin, a contemporary authority, in his remarks upon L'Estrange's History, speaks of his "return from the court of France, where he was captain, *as I take it*, of the Scottish Guard." But the correspondence between Louis and Lord Gordon, and other documents on the subject, prove beyond doubt, that the latter obtained this command in 1624, passed with his brilliant cortège to Paris in 1633, and only came home in 1637, some time after our hero had returned to his native land. The doubtful remark of Heylin probably arose from some confusion of Lord Gordon's motions with those of the earl ; though, from a comparison of dates, it seems most likely that Montrose had gone to France at that time in company with the heir of Huntly,—an interesting circumstance, when we reflect upon their subsequent unhappy rivalry and similar fate. The Scottish Guard immediately distinguished itself in Lorraine and Alsace ; and it is recorded by the historian of that family, that the eldest son of Lord Gordon, who accompanied his father, "was wounded in the thigh, at the storming of Spire, valiantly fighting upon the breach of the wall, with his pike in his hand, and never gave over till the city surrendered." This was the same gallant youth, whom we shall afterwards find commanding a wing of the royal army at the battle of Alford, and whose death there so sadly clouded the success of the day. It does not appear, however, that Montrose was at all engaged in the service now alluded to. A contemporary chronicler, whose name has not come down to us, but who says of himself that he was personally acquainted with our hero, having followed him in several of his expeditions, gives so particular an account of the manner in which he occupied himself when abroad, that I shall quote a passage :—

"In his younger days, Montrose travelled France and Italy, where he made it his work to pick up the best of their qualities necessary for a person of honour. Having rendered himself perfect in the academies, his next delight was to improve his intellectuals, which he did by allotting a proportionable time to reading and conversing with learned men ; yet still so as to use his exercise that he might not forget it. He studied as

much of the mathematics as is required for a soldier ; but his great study was to read men, and the actions of great men. Thus he spent three years in France and Italy, and would have surveyed the rarities of the East had his domestic affairs not obliged his return home, which chanced at that time the late rebellion began to peep out."

Bishop Burnet corroborates, but after his own peculiar fashion, the account both of the earl's literary acquirements and his travels. He says that he was "a young man, well learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the part of a hero too much, and lived as in a romance, for his whole manner was stately to affectation." And as even this portrait might convey a more favourable opinion than the bishop intended, he qualifies it by the information, that "when Montrose was beyond sea, he travelled with the Earl of Denbigh, and they consulted all the astrologers they could hear of. I plainly saw the Earl of Denbigh relied on what had been told him, to his dying day, and the rather, because the Earl of Montrose was promised a glorious fortune for some time ; but all was to be overthrown in conclusion." This deserves about as much credit as the story of the toad ; and probably there is more of malice in the spirit with which Burnet records it, than superstitious reliance on the truth of his anecdote.*

One foreign record, hitherto unobserved, confirms the accounts already quoted, of Montrose having proceeded from France to Italy, but does not mention the Earl of Denbigh as his companion. There is a college in Rome, originally a foundation for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims of the English nation, which dates traditionally from the seventh century, and with certainty from the fourteenth. After the

* Burnet, probably owing to his attachment to the house of Hamilton, has done great injustice to Montrose. Indeed he goes so far as to accuse him of personal timidity, in the following passage of the last edition of the History of his own Times, which had been suppressed in the former editions :—"Montrose, in his defeat, took too much care of himself, for he was never willing to expose himself too much."—Edit. 1823, p. 67.

Reformation, the influx of British pilgrims naturally diminished; and it appeared to Pope Gregory XIII. that the ample endowments of the hospital might be rendered of more avail to his church by a different application. Accordingly, in the year 1579, he converted it into a college for English students, who might wish to devote their learning and their lives to reclaim their country, overrun, as the bull of erection says, with "wicked doctrines." But, in terms of the statutes of the foundation, it was still to be burdened with the obligation to receive and entertain devout pilgrims from this country,—the poor for eight days, and the rich and noble during three. The record of visitors preserved in the archives of this college* goes back to 1446, and is continued from time to time until 1656. Very few names connected with Scotland occur; but in the year 1635, an entry appears which I here translate literally from the Latin record:—

"27th day of March, two earls, Angus† and Montrose, Scotchmen, with four others, gentlemen of distinction of that nation, attended by four domestics, were honourably entertained in our refectory, according to their rank."‡

This is all that I have been able to discover of the history of Montrose's boyhood, education, and youthful travels. His companion in arms, already mentioned, whose account the record now quoted so far corroborates, states that he returned from Italy about the commencement of the disturbances in Scotland, after an absence of three years. Hence his residence in foreign parts must have terminated about the end of the year 1635, or the commencement of the following, at which time he was not quite twenty-four.

* The present accomplished rector, the Rev. Dr Wiseman, has arranged these with remarkable care.

† Eldest son of the first Marquis of Douglas.

‡ For the above particulars, and transcripts from the records of the college, I am indebted to the kindness and intelligent researches of my friend James Dennistoun, Esq. of Dennistoun, himself a lineal descendant of the great Montrose.

His first desire, on returning from the continent, as Heylin graphically expresses it, "in the flower and bravery of his age," must have been to ingratiate himself with his sovereign. Sir Philip Warwick records this trait of the king's affectionate though hasty temper, that "whenever any young nobleman, or gentleman of quality, who was going to travel, came to kiss his hand, he cheerfully would give them some good counsel, leading to moral virtue, especially to good conversation, telling them, that if he heard they kept good company abroad, he should reasonably expect they would return qualified to serve him and their country well at home." The earl, both in mind and person, was one of the most accomplished young noblemen of his times. "I shall acquaint you," says the same contemporary from whom the account of his occupations beyond seas is derived, "both with what I know myself, having followed him several years in his expeditions, and what I have learned from others of good name and credit. He was of a middle stature, and most exquisitely proportioned limbs; his hair of a light chesnut; his complexion betwixt pale and ruddy; his eye most penetrating, though inclining to gray; his nose rather aquiline than otherwise. As he was strong of body and limbs, so he was most agile, which made him excel most others in those exercises where these two are required. In riding the great horse, and making use of his arms, he came short of none. I never heard much of his delight in dancing, though his countenance, and other his bodily endowments, were equally fitting the court as the camp."*

* Dr Wishart's description of Montrose's personal appearance and accomplishments is very similar to that quoted in the text. "He was not very tall, nor much exceeding a middle stature, but of an exceeding strong composition of body, and an incredible force, joined with an excellent proportion, and fine features. His hair was of a dark-brown colour, his complexion sanguine, of a quick and piercing gray eye, with a high nose, somewhat like the ancient sign of the magnanimity of the Persian kings. He was a man of a very princely carriage and excellent address, which made him be used by all princes, for the most part, with the greatest familiarity. He was

A youth of such lineage, figure, and high accomplishments, could not but anticipate the most gracious reception from his sovereign. There seems to be no doubt, however, that on his first appearance at court he was received in a manner so repulsive as to intimate that his presence was not agreeable to the monarch. This circumstance is alluded to by various contemporary historians ; but it could not have been explained, by any thing in the character either of the king or of Montrose, had not Heylin recorded the following curious particulars, both in his *Life of Laud*, and in his *Commentary upon L'Estrange* :

“The reason of James earl of Montrose adhering to the Covenanters, as he afterwards *averred unto the king*, was briefly this : At his return from the court of France, where he was captain (as I take it) of the Scottish Guard, he had a mind to put himself into the king's service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquis of Hamilton, who, knowing the gallantry of the man, and fearing a competitor in his majesty's favour, cunningly told him that he would do him any service, but that the king was so wholly given up to the English, and so discountenanced and slighted the Scottish nation, that, were it not for doing good service for his country, which the king intended to reduce to the form of a province, he could not suffer the indignities which were put upon him. This done he repairs unto the king, tells him of the earl's return from France, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed, but that he was so powerful, so popular, and of such esteem among the Scots, by reason of an old descent from the royal family, that, if he were not nipped in the bud, as we used to say, he might endanger the king's interests and affairs in Scotland. The earl being brought unto the king, with great demonstration of affection on the marquis's part, the king, without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand

a complete horseman, and had a singular grace in riding. He was of a most resolute and undaunted spirit, which began to appear in him, to the wonder and expectation of all men, even in his childhood.”

to kiss, and so turned aside ; which so confirmed the truth of that false report which Hamilton had delivered to him, that in great displeasure and disdain he makes for Scotland, where he found who knew how to work on such humours as he brought along with him, till, by seconding the information which he had from Hamilton, they had fashioned him wholly to their will.”*

The remark of D’Israeli however is somewhat hasty, that “the slighted and romantic hero, indignant at the coldness of that royalty which best suited his spirit, hastened to Scotland, and threw himself in anger and despair into the hands of the Covenanters.” Montrose no doubt deeply felt an insult which, until Hamilton’s real character became known to him, must have appeared without cause on the part of his sovereign. But, although he arrived in his own country some time before the tumults broke out, the community there was worked up to its highest pitch of excitement before he became connected, privately or publicly, with those violent proceedings. Moreover, as will also be proved at a subsequent stage of this narrative, even then he joined the insurrection, not from a sudden impulse of passion, but in consequence of the representations and the earnest persuasions of others.

* Heylin’s Remarks upon L’Estrange, p. 205. In his *Life of Laud* he tells the same story, but omits the surmise of Montrose having commanded the Guard of France. For this latter work he had obtained some materials from personal conversation with Montrose’s tutor, Lord Napier. After recording the particulars of the tithe policy of Charles, Heylin speaks of “the learned and right noble Lord of Merchiston (Napier), from whose mouth I had all this narration.” It adds greatly to the value of Heylin’s anecdote, that he was in the habit of obtaining information from Lord Napier.

CHAPTER II.

Preliminary View of the Rise of the Troubles in Scotland—Tithe Policy of Charles I.—Lord Napier's Opinion of the Measure, and of the good Intentions of the King—His Account of the State of Charles's Counsels, and of the Manner in which the Monarch was surrounded and misled by interested Courtiers—Illustrates this by an Anecdote of the Pope, and a Quotation from Vopiscus—Heylin's Account of the Settlement of the Tithe Measures, derived from Lord Napier—Royal Progress to Scotland in 1633—Factionous Opposition in the Scottish Parliament, headed by Rothes and Loudon—Continued after the King's Departure—Whispered Calumnies against his Majesty—The Balmerino Petition a Type of the Covenant—Balmerino tried and condemned—Is pardoned by the King—Impolicy of the King's Measures in imposing the Canons and Liturgy—Lord Napier's Sentiments—His "Discourse upon some Incongruities in Matters of Estate."

WITHOUT professing to write a history of the rise of the troubles in Scotland, it may be well to devote this chapter to a preliminary, though of necessity a hasty view, of the leading events which ushered in the Scottish Covenant, and of the early proceedings of the faction of Rothes, Loudon, and Balmerino, names so conspicuous in the stormy period with which the life of Montrose is identified.

The endeavours of Charles I. to relieve his native country from the oppression of the aristocratic tithe-holders, and the state-prosecution of Lord Balmerino for a seditious libel,—a prosecution which, as every one knows, arose out of the circumstances of the king's visit to Scotland in the year 1633,—may be termed the seeds of the Covenant, and of that insurrection in the north which so greatly aided, if it did not give birth to, the subsequent rebellion.

With regard to the important subject of the tithe-policy of Charles I., Lord Napier's manuscripts afford a more authentic and interesting elucidation, especially as regards the king's motives and intentions, than has hitherto been recorded. Malcolm Laing states, that by the revocation of tithes and benefices usurped by the laity, the king merely "intended to aggrandize the dignified clergy;" nor will he allow to the monarch one beneficent intention in following out this most difficult measure.

The tutor of Montrose was better informed as to the wishes of the sovereign in this matter. "Of the commission of the tithes," he says, "I had the honour to be one; and, according to my duty and power, did advance his majesty's just and gracious purpose." "The business of tithes, amongst others, was most constantly prosecuted by his majesty,—a purpose of his father's or his own, who, finding the heavy oppression of teind-masters and the *servitude of the people*, did earnestly endeavour to remedy it: in this, as in other matters, what truly might be said to be his, which were his intentions only, was most just and princely; but the means, which were other men's inventions, were most unfit to compass his ends, but fit enough to serve their turns that found it their private interest to render the business intricate, longsome, and difficult, upon hope his majesty would relinquish the same; neither was this form of proceeding displeasing to some most intrusted, for by the difficulty they did endear their services, and in the mean time, giving his majesty hopes of great matters, they drew from him present and certain benefits, above the proportion of their merit, or of his majesty's ability."

The design of recovering the tithes from the hands of those grasping and factious barons, who had made the reformation of the church in Scotland an excuse for appropriating that property to themselves, was thus protracted through a number of years from the commencement of Charles's reign; and he himself refers to the unjust discontent of the nobles (whose power was to suffer from this salutary restriction) the mur-

mure and heart-burnings which found a vent in the insurrection against Episcopacy. When the general revocation was first proposed, the king met with a violent resistance from interested individuals, several of whom were at the very time disgusting his majesty with petty factions at court, of which Lord Napier has left a very curious record.* Mar, Haddington, Roxburgh, Morton, and the chancellor Sir George Hay (Kinnoull), were, from personal motives, among the leaders of that opposition, which, we are told by Burnet, had very nearly occasioned an extraordinary scene of assassination and massacre when Nithisdale came to Scotland, commissioned by the monarch to make good the revocation. It was after this failure that the famous "Commission of Surrenders of Superiorities and Tithes" was issued in the year 1627. Napier, in a letter to a friend, points out what he considers to be the bad effects resulting from the mismanagement of this affair, and the reasons why it proved so unsatisfactory to the clergy, the titulars, and the possessors. But he adds, "the king, in my opinion, has more just cause of offence than any other of complaint, to find his gracious and just endeavours, of *vindicating the greatest part of his people from the oppression of another part*, to be thus frustrated and disappointed, and that which his majesty intended for the general good to give general discontentment, through the ill carriage of the business, whereby his majesty is defrauded of the honour due to his virtuous and good designs, than which *never prince intended more just, more gracious, nor more truly honourable*; and in the end it is most likely that his profit shall be much diminished, unless some better course be taken." In this better course, with regard to the tithes, his lordship proceeds to say that he is prepared to instruct his majesty. But he adds, "if the proposition like his majesty, to make it effectual he must own it himself, and, to try it, must ask the opinion

* Some examples, derived from Lord Napier's MS., will be found in the Appendix.

of the wisest and best affected concerning the same. For if it should be known or suspected to proceed from any other, it is the humour of some of greatest trust and credit about princes to disgrace the man, and to slight and cry down any motion, though never so good, which doeth not proceed immediately or mediately from themselves ; and, upon every occasion that occurreth, will rather give bad information, and worse advice, than give way to others, or seem incapable of any thing themselves. Much like that gentleman who rode out, in the company of others, to bring in the pope to a city in Italy. The pope asking many questions, and inquiring the names of cities, rivers, and places, that came within his view as he went along, this gentleman made answers to all, and gave names to every thing, but never a true one, being himself ignorant of the same ; and so he continued in discourse with the pope till he came to his lodging ; and when a friend of his rebuked him for abusing his holiness with untruths, 'if (said he) I had seemed ignorant of what was asked, the pope would have called another ; so should I forego the honour I had, to be seen riding so near the pope and in speech with him ; and he rests as well satisfied as if the truth had been exactly told him.'

"And truly, if ever any king, our sovereign, in so far as concerneth Scottish business, may justly make Dioclesian's complaint,—*Colligunt se quatuor aut quinque circa Imperatorem, atque sibi utilia, sub pretextu boni publici et principis, proponunt,—bonos, et virtute præditos, ab Imperatore amovent,—malos, factiosos et sibi idoneos adsciscunt,—veritatem ad aures principis appellere non sinunt,—SIT BONUS, SAPIENS, CAUTUS, DECIPITUR IMPERATOR.*"*

* These last words are written emphatically large in the manuscript. It is a speech put in the mouth of the Emperor Diocletian, after his voluntary abdication of the throne, when declaiming on his favourite topic, the difficulty of being a good prince. Gibbon thus paraphrases the passage :—"How often is it the interest of four or five ministers to combine together to deceive their sovereign ! Se-

"From these, and other fragments of his reflections to be afterwards quoted, it might almost seem that the preceptor of Montrose had been gifted with the second sight of his country, and that to him the "coming events cast their shadows before." It is interesting to connect the statement now made, relating to one of the most influential and least elucidated events of the times, with a passage in Heylin's *Life of Laud*. This writer, who was a contemporary, narrates, that, in the minority of James VI., the lands of all cathedral churches and religious houses which had been settled on the crown by act of parliament, were, by the connivance of the Earl of Murray and other regents, shared among the revolutionary lords and barons; and that "they lorded it with pride and insolence enough in their several territories, holding the clergy to small stipends, and the poor peasants under a miserable vassalage and subjection to them, not suffering them to carry away their nine parts till the lord had carried off his tenth, which many times was neglected out of pride and malice, those tyrants not caring to lose their tithe, so that the poor man's crop might be left unto spoil and hazard." He then narrates how Charles, adopting the projects of his father, "resolves upon an act of revocation, commissionating for that purpose the Earl of Annandale, and the Lord Maxwell (afterwards Earl of Nithisdale), to hold a Parliament in Scotland, for contribution of money and ships against the Dunkirkers, and arming Maxwell also with some secret instructions for passing the said act of revocation if he found it feasible. Being on his way as far as Berwick, Maxwell was there informed, that his chief errand being made known

cluded from mankind by his exalted dignity, the truth is concealed from his knowledge,—he can see only with their eyes, he hears nothing but their misrepresentations. He confers the most important offices upon vice and weakness, and disgraces the most virtuous and deserving among his subjects. By such infamous arts the best and wisest princes are sold to the venal corruptions of their courtiers." The quotation in Lord Napier's manuscript is from *Vopiscus*, a learned Syracusan, reckoned the Coryphæus among the six authors called *Historia Augustæ Scriptores*.

had put all at Edinburgh into tumult,—that a rich coach, which he had sent before him to Dalkeith, was cut in pieces, the poor horses killed, the people seeming only sorry that they could not do so much to the lord himself.” In consequence of this failure, the king adopted the advice of his solicitor-general for Scotland, Mr Archibald Acheson, who had been a puisne judge in Ireland. This lawyer it was who proposed the machinery of the Commission of Surrenders, which so pleased his majesty, that he honoured the inventor with knighthood. Three years from the date of this commission, matters were in the state commented upon by Lord Napier in the manuscript we have quoted; and it appears that, shortly after expressing those opinions, he had obtained an opportunity of communicating all his views on the subject of the tithe policy to his royal master himself. “In the year 1630,” says Heylin, “commissioners (from the tithe-holders) are sent to the court of England, and amongst others, the learned and right noble lord of Merchiston, *from whose mouth I had all this relation*; who, after a long treaty with the king, did at last agree that the said commission should proceed as formerly, and that all such superiorities and tithes as had been, or should be surrendered, should be re-granted by the king on these conditions: 1. That all such as held hereditary sheriffdoms, or had the power of life and death over such as lived within their jurisdiction, should quit those royalties to the king. 2. That they should make unto their tenants in their several lands, some permanent estates, either for their lives, or one-and-twenty years, or some such like term, that so the tenants might be encouraged to build and plant, and improve the patrimony of that kingdom. 3. That some provisions should be made for augmenting the stipends of the clergy. 4. That they should double the yearly rents which were reserved unto the crown by their former grants. 5. That these conditions being performed on their parts, the king should settle their estates by act of Parliament. Home went the commissioners with joy for their good success, expecting to be entertained with bells and bonfires. But they

found the contrary, the proud Scots being generally resolved rather to put all to hazard, than to quit that power and tyranny which they had over their poor vassals,—by which name, after the manner of the French, they called their tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged underhand by a party in England, who feared that by this agreement the king would be so absolute in those northern regions, that no aid could be hoped from thence when the necessity of their designs might most require it ;—just as the Castilians were displeased with the conquest of Portugal by King Philip II., because thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the king's displeasure or their disobedience should make their own country too hot for them. Such was the face of church and state when his majesty began his journey for Scotland to receive the crown."

At length Charles effected that memorable progress in the month of June 1633. One of the six noblemen, whom his majesty selected to support the bearers of his canopy, was Lord Napier. Rothes, afterwards the father of the Covenant, carried the sceptre ; and Lorn, the deeper and more deadly promoter of the rebellion, assisted to bear the train.

When the king met the Scottish parliament, he found the tithe opposition firmly arrayed against him under the leadership of Rothes and Loudon.* That his majesty should take his seat in their house (at a time, too, when prerogative and privilege were all undefined) with calm and prudential feelings towards that factious party, was hardly to be expected. His own account of the matter,—which, from its *truth*, became so hateful to the Covenanters,—is as follows :—" We (says he) undertook a journey to them, and, according to our expectation, were most joyfully received by them. But immediately before, and at the sitting down of our parliament there, we

* Of these Rothes was he who "brought in" Montrose to the Covenant ; and Loudon was the chancellor who pronounced upon him the sentence of death.

quickly found that the very same persons who since were the contrivers of, and still continue the sticklers for, their new pretended Covenant, begun to have secret meetings, and, in their private consultations, did vent their dislike of our innocent revocation, and our most beneficial commission of surrenders. But knowing that these two could gain them no party, then they begun to suggest great fears that many and dangerous innovations of religion were to be attempted in this present parliament. Not that they themselves thought so, but because they knew that either that or nothing would soil with suspicious jealousy, or interrupt and relax the present joy and contentment which did overflow in our subjects' hearts, and appeared in their hearty expressions, for our presence among them. But we readily confuted all these suspicious surmises; for, except an act which gave us power to appoint such vestures for churchmen as we should hold to be most decent, nothing concerning religion was either propounded or passed in that parliament, but that which every king doth usually, in that and all other Christian kingdoms, pass at their first parliament, viz. an act of ratification of all other acts heretofore made, and then standing in force, concerning the religion presently professed and established, and concerning the church, her liberties and privileges. Which act, being an act of course, though it passed by most voices, yet was it dissented from, to our great admiration, by the voices of many of those who are now the principal pillars of their Covenant; which made all men then begin to suspect that sure there was some great distemper of heat at the heart, when it boiled so over at their lips, by their unnecessary and unprofitable denying of assent to the laws, concerning the religion and church, already established, this first act passing more for form, and the honour of religion, than for any use or necessity of it, all the former laws still standing in force and vigour, without the need of any new ratification.”*

* The King's Large Declaration; printed in the year 1689.

It had been conceded to King James, by act of parliament, that the ordering of the apparel of churchmen should belong to him. Charles, consistently with his object of uniformity in church matters, was anxious not to lose sight of this statute, and the lords of the articles had included it in the general act of his prerogative. The Opposition seized upon this as the most favourable subject for popular agitation ; it being easy, with the aid of a fanatical clergy, to excite the people into irrational violence against the surplice, and, through the medium of the pulpit, to poison their minds with the most false ideas of the king's intentions. From Sanderson's contemporary history we derive the following quaint and circumstantial description of the style of a discussion that was in fact pregnant with the fate of England. "The first that opposed this act was the Lord Loudon,* a bold young man of a broken estate, lately come from school (their college) and a Master of Arts. A deft lord he was, who missing of the court to civilize his studies, must needs want morality to bring him to manners, and being besides of a cavilling, contradictory nature, nothing would seem to him so positive in reason as his own opinion ; and therefore now, as heretofore at school, he argued with his distinctions—*duplici questioni non potest dari una responsio ; ita est sic probo*,—and after his syllogising in this kind he sits down with a challenge,—*responde, perge, urge, punge*. The king told him the orders of the house, not to *dispute* there, but to give his vote, *yea or nay*,—' which I do,' said he, '*negative*,' and so sat down in a snuff ; yet the king had the major voices *affirmative*. Loudon stands up and questioneth the register,

* A scion of the house of Argyle ; being the son of Campbell of Lawers. By marriage with the heiress of Loudon he obtained that title. It must be observed, however, that the description in the text is so much more applicable (both in regard to age and manner) to Rothes than to Loudon, that probably Loudon was here written or printed by mistake for Rothes. Moreover, Burnet says that Rothes took the lead in this opposition.

scans the calculation with great contest before the king could carry it.”*

The king appears to have been annoyed and irritated, and even to have afforded a handle to his enemies by not repressing his indignant feelings. Conscious of being opposed there only by the tithe cabal, and aware that they had held seditious meetings in secret before the assembling of parliament, Charles had come prepared to carry matters, against these turbulent nobles, with a higher hand than prudence dictated, especially as it was not in his nature effectually to sustain an arbitrary system of government, founded upon any determined or steady views of his own. Rushworth declares, that during this stormy and fantastical debate, in which was manifested such a disposition to insult the king, “he took a list of the whole members out of his pocket, and said, Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I’ll know who will do me service and who will not this day.”† According to Clarendon, Charles had remarked that at this time Rothes and his party endeavoured “to make themselves popular by speaking in parliament against those things which were most grateful to his Majesty, and which still passed notwithstanding their contradiction, and he thought a little discountenance upon those persons would either suppress that spirit within themselves, or make the poison of it less operative upon others.” That great historian adds, that of the Earl of Rothes and his coadjutors, the king

* “A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles from his cradle to his grave; collected and written by William Sander-son, Esq.”—Printed 1658.

† Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 183. But this celebrated collector was assistant-clerk of the Long Parliament, and it is now well known that his testimony against Charles I. must always be received *cum nota*. The antidote against Rushworth’s partial collection is the “Impartial Collection” of Nalson, who says in his Introduction,—“If I do not make it appear that Mr Rushworth hath concealed truth, endeavoured to vindicate the prevailing detractions of the late times, as well as their barbarous actions, and with a kind of rebound libelled the government at second hand, I will be contented the award shall go against me.”

had the worst opinion, and purposely withheld from them any grace by never speaking to them, or taking notice of them in the court. Yet such was their effrontery, and determination to attain their ends, that "when the king was abroad in the fields, or passing through villages, when the greatest crowds of people flocked to see him, *those men would still be next him*, and entertain him with some discourse and pleasant relations, which the king's gentle disposition could not avoid, and which made those persons to be generally believed to be most acceptable to his majesty." Upon this characteristic demeanour of ambitious democracy the author passes this shrewd reflection, that "let the proudest or most formal man resolve to keep what distance he will towards others, a bold and confident man instantly demolishes that whole machine, and gets within him, and even obliges him to his own laws of conversation." Such was the faction with whom Charles came into collision in the Scottish parliament of 1633. To their bitter disappointment, the royal prerogative was saved, for the time, by his still commanding a majority of the members against the rising tide of disloyalty and disorder.* But it was not merely to acquire a short-lived triumph over the factious and turbulent that Charles accomplished this memorable progress. His object was to secure the peace and happiness of his subjects, no less than to protect his crown. Accordingly, during this session, his tithe-policy was finally adjusted upon its present basis, and at the same time he conferred another inestimable benefit upon the people of his native land, in the statute for the endowment of parochial schools. "Thus,"—says an excellent historian of the church,—“did Charles I. confer upon

* Dr Cook (in his History of the Church of Scotland) has been misled into a most mistaken history of this matter by Bishop Burnet, whose account of the conduct of the king in the parliament of 1633, as well as of the subsequent trial of Lord Balmerino, is contradicted by the best contemporary evidence, and confirmed by none of any value. See the proofs examined in the Illustrations of Montrose and the Covenanters, vol. i. p. 521.

Scotland two of the greatest boons that legislative wisdom could devise ; securing to the ecclesiastical body a permanent though frugal endowment, and providing for the poor the facility of acquiring a cheap and pious education.”*

From such scenes the patriotic monarch returned, weary and disgusted, to forget his cares in those pious habits and domestic enjoyments for which nature had fitted him better than for a throne. No sooner had he arrived in England, however, than he was constrained to institute the memorable process against Balmerino. To agitate the country against the king was the great object of the party led by Rothes ; and the elements of revolution were abundant in Scotland. An aristocracy, turbulent and disloyal by hereditary right, had been restrained in their power. A clergy, born of democracy and fanaticism, were threatened with the extinction of their *ex-tempore* addresses, and the diminution of *their* power, under a learned hierarchy.† Thus there was no want of materials for organizing and leading insurrection ; but the question was, how to combine these somewhat discordant elements safely and effectually for the purposes of party.

Their first essay, after the departure of Charles, was the malicious rumour, that certain measures in the late parliament had been carried solely by bribery and corruption on the part of the king ; nay, that some of the acts had in reality not passed, though the clerk-register, in summing up the votes, falsely declared that they had. This, however, was merely a whisper intended for the vulgar, it being well known that there were too many, present in parliament, deeply interested

* History of the Church in Scotland. By the Rev. Michael Russell, LL. D., vol. ii.

† “ The factious clergy were at hand to make things worse,—not but that those times produced learned and most renowned able men at the altar, as ever any age could parallel,—I mean those other young wolves in lambs’ cloathing, who by their *lectures* (late excrescencies) led about the vulgar under colour of depressing popery, to the destruction at last of the whole church.”—*Sanderson’s Hist., Introduct.*

in the state of the vote, and actually checking the notes both of his majesty and the clerk-register, to have rendered so desperate a deceit practicable, had either been capable of conceiving it. Another murmur the agitators had better hopes of swelling into a popular clamour, namely, that the commission of surrenders was nothing else than a scheme of *the bishops*, for the sole purpose of their own aggrandizement, and that the intention of the king was, by a series of such measures, to subvert the "religion and liberties" of Scotland. How little of truth and sincere patriotism belonged to these views of the tithe adjustment, we have noticed already. But this direction of the storm against the courtly hierarchy was a master-art of the disaffected. The country was swarming with poor clergymen, who, for the most part, uncouth, unlearned, and unenlightened, and with little hope of becoming bishops, yet felt their passions and their lungs strong enough to afford them a chance, when the waters were troubled, of emulating the popularity of Knox. On the king's arrival in the north, Mr Thomas Hog, a minister, had been put forward in the name of this ecclesiastical faction, with a petition, entitled—"Grievances and petitions concerning the disordered estate of the reformed kirk within this realm of Scotland,"—which he presented to the clerk of the articles, at Dalkeith, before his majesty had reached Edinburgh. This petition involved a complete revolution in church and state, and contained, in fact, the substance of the future Covenant. The first clause intended the exclusion of the bishops from parliament, and aimed that very blow, at one of the three estates, which not long afterwards took effect. The next clause asserted the supremacy of the church of Scotland over the civil magistrate, in regard to the several orders of prelates; and this truly papistical doctrine, and persecuting power, was also subsequently realized by the covenanting assemblies of 1638 and 1639. The remainder of this petition laboured for the subversion of every thing that was anti-democratical in the constitution of the kirk. So palpable a manœuvre of party the lords of the articles did not even consider

worthy of being prepared for the consideration of parliament, and it fell to the ground.

The wits of a lawyer were next set to work, and certainly he managed to raise a considerable flame. William Haig, the "king's solicitor,"* concocted a "supplication," which, says Lord Balmerino upon oath, "he told me he had made out of some collections which he had gathered upon some conferences, which he had with *sundry persons* the time of the parliament."† This precious egg of sedition the solicitor privately conveyed to his lordship for incubation. The father of this nobleman had been detected, tried, and condemned to die, for surreptitiously obtaining the royal signature to a letter addressed to the pope. James pardoned him, and restored his blood; yet his son was one of the keenest of the cabal against Charles I., and to him accordingly did Haig first submit his scheme of a revolution, which he was pleased to entitle "a fit supplication to be presented to his majesty." Balmerino, as appears from his own depositions, immediately carried it to Rothes, and further "declares, that the Earl of Rothes and the deponer, having read the supplication, thought it *no ways fit* to be presented to his majesty, but to be *absolutely suppressed*." It is not surprising that even their effrontery, who at the very time were forcing themselves upon the king in his progresses, was unequal to the task of presenting this petition; for a more insulting document if offered to his majesty, and a more insidiously seditious one if circulated among the people, could not have been framed. It began by accusing the sovereign of asserting in the recent parliament "a secret power to innovate the order and government long continued in the reformed church of Scotland,"—it referred to the desire entertained both by James and Charles, to have a liturgy prepared for their ancient kingdom, such as would effect the object of uniformity in the way most satisfactory to that country, as "reports

* Burnet.

† See Lord Balmerino's depositions in the record of his state trial, which, it is to be regretted, Dr Cook had not consulted.

of allowance given in England for printing *books of popery*,"—it presumed to "suspect a snare in the subtle junction" of the act of churchmen's apparel with that of the prerogative,—to call it "a sophistical artifice," and to add, most insultingly, "which blessed King James would never have confounded;"—it complained of the suppression of the ministers' *grievances*,—and, finally, the whole drift and purpose of this singular petition,—full of such impertinencies mixed up with the most contradictory expressions of loyalty and humility,—amounted to this, that Charles should give up the established church to the meaner model of a party eagerly thirsting for democratic power. This ingenious scheme, concocted by a single lawyer out of some *conferences* he had held with *sundry* of a disappointed minority of the members, was entitled "The humble supplication of a great number of the nobility and other commissioners in the late parliament." The real intention never could have been to present this to his majesty,—at least with any other view than that of insulting and enraging him. It must have been conceived with the covert view of agitating the whole country against the king. It was to pass for the suppressed voice of a loyal but subjugated people, against a tyrannical monarch and papistical clergy; and if the ministers joined heartily in the scheme, the nation, it was foreseen, would be revolutionized from the pulpits. In short, this insidious paper involved one of the most dangerous instances of the statutory crime of leasing-making that could well be imagined. It came out in evidence, that every nobleman of the party, to whom it had been privately submitted, expressed an opinion that it should be suppressed. Rothes deponed, that "he ever thought it fit to be suppress," and most earnestly disclaimed having any concern with Mr William Haig, "of whom he had ever suspicion, because he has *ever been busy* upon such *idle and foolish toys*." Balmerino, when examined upon oath "whether he did allow and approve the same himself in the matter and *substance*, declares that he neither allowed nor allows the same, and declares he *condemns the*

same both in matter and form." Yet both of these noblemen had done all in their power to move the people by means of this very petition, which obviously was intended for a bond of union to the factionists against the monarchy,—a scheme afterwards fatally accomplished by the Covenant of 1637.

Had this memorable document been simply presented to the sovereign, or displayed openly to the country, it would have been comparatively innoxious. But the mysterious and secret circulation of such a revolutionary scheme, whether matured in the closet of Balmerino, or improved by the counsels of Rothes, noblemen of whom the king entertained the "worst opinion," aggravated this state delinquency, and betrayed the deep design of its conscious perpetrators. To appreciate the conduct of Balmerino (who was properly selected as the example on this occasion), and justly to estimate the danger apprehended by those who advised the prosecution, we ought never to lose sight of the temper of that period, or of the fact that secret combinations were then rife, and were well known to be the means constantly employed by such intriguers, whether the object was to advance some petty interests by the ruin of an individual, or the selfish designs of a political clique by the ruin of the state ;—we must keep in mind (to quote the expressions of Lord Napier) "the iniquity of those times, which, for bribery, concussion of the people, and abusing of the king, no age can parallel," and which were haunted by the "evil spirits who walk betwixt a king and his people."

Balmerino received every advantage that equity could demand. He was remitted to a jury of his own countrymen, to have his guilt or innocence determined agreeably to the statutes against leasing-making. It was ever the demand of the factious in Scotland that their enemies should be "sent home" to be dealt with ; and it was a friend and leader of his party that now acquired what to him was an advantage, and very nearly equivalent to an acquittal. He was indicted by Sir Thomas Hope, whose libel presents a curious contrast to the opinion delivered a few years afterwards by that distinguished adviser of the

crown, that the Covenant (of which the petition in question was but a type or preliminary), with all its machinery of sedition, was a legal and constitutional act. The Balmerino petition, however, this indictment characterizes, in the name of the king, as "a most scandalous, reproachful, odious, infamous, and seditious libel;"—speaks of the "curious and furious brain of the cursed and unhappy libeller," who, it adds, "not content with these reproaches, most villanously and despitefully belcht and vomited forth against our sacred person, proceeds to a most fearful and dangerous undermining of our honour, credit, and greatest happiness, in affirming that there is now a general fear of some innovation intended in essential points of religion; albeit, blessed be God, it be certainly known to all our good subjects that we are, and in all our actings have shown ourselves to be, a most devout and religious prince, hating and abhorring, in heart and affection, all papistical superstition and idolatry." Strange to say, the lord advocate, who did his duty with ardour upon this occasion, was the same who, about two years afterwards, so effectually, though secretly, aided and abetted the most seditious plot (being truly the *same plot*, and the *same actors*) that ever brought a country to disgrace and ruin. Every art of sedition was exerted to turn the trial of Balmerino into the triumph of democracy. The people were excited into a state of phrensy, and the lives of the judges and the jury were threatened, should they dare to condemn the accused. A verdict was obtained against him by a majority of one, and he was condemned to death under the statutes against leasing-making. If Charles, in the spirit of a despot, had claimed the head of this justly condemned nobleman, the menaces of a faction would have been powerless against his justice; and a disposition so stern and determined would never have consented to sign the death-warrant of Strafford, his greatest statesman. But this indulgent prince at no time desired the punishment of a human being. Upon this occasion he exercised the mercy so honourable to his nature,—mercy which Balmerino himself,

among others, would not suffer the king to extend to Strafford. The statutes of leasing-making were violently condemned as cruel and tyrannical. But, a few years afterwards, Stewart of Ladywell being accused by the covenanting government of this crime, not against the sovereign, but against Argyle, was arraigned, and capitally condemned. In this instance the severe doom was followed by no forgiveness.

Such was the temper of the Scottish nation,—or, to speak more properly, of a party in that country, who, through the medium of certain unscrupulous clergymen, inflamed the passions of the lower orders,—when Charles adopted the advice given by some inconsiderate persons to impose the canons and liturgy upon the whole people. “It had been originally proposed,” says Dr Russell, in his History of the Church, “to adopt the English liturgy, as ratified by Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and at once to extend the legal sanction to the Scottish Church. But the prelates, aware of the jealousy which rankled in the minds of their people, relative to the pretensions of their southern neighbours, both on civil and ecclesiastical grounds, recommended that a few verbal alterations should be introduced; that the psalms, epistles, and gospels, should be taken from the new translation of the Scriptures; and that the book should be announced as having been specially compiled for the use of their own establishment. The communion service, printed in the first liturgy of Edward the Sixth, was also preferred; not only because it was different from that inserted in the later editions of the Anglican ritual, but also on account of the better arrangement which it presents of the several prayers and addresses employed in the eucharistical office. Objections were taken to the revival of this order for administering the Lord’s Supper, as approaching nearer to the forms of the Roman Church; and, though such strictures must have arisen either in ignorance or malice, it was probably the part of wisdom to have avoided even so simple an occasion for provoking the spleen of those who had determined to find fault, and of giving countenance to the oppo-

sition of that more formidable class, who sought only a pretext for making an attack on all the branches of the hierarchy. The same error, which rendered unpopular the introduction of the canons, was committed in imposing the use of the liturgy. The clergy were not consulted ; the nation in general was kept in ignorance—till the royal mandate was issued ; and no means were employed to prepare the feelings of the common people for a change to which, had it proceeded from their own pastors, they would, it is probable, have readily submitted.”*

Lord Napier,—with whom Montrose must have been in familiar intercourse on his return, about the commencement of the year 1636, from his travels on the continent,—stood entirely aloof from faction. This excellent and pious nobleman had been reared by his father, the great anti-papistical writer of his day (who estimated his own immortal invention of the Logarithms much beneath his exposition of the Apocalypse), in all due abhorrence of the pope, and perhaps in more than due dislike of prelatical dignity and power ; but, at the same time, so loyally as to be consigned, while yet a youth, into the hands of James VI., who, on his deathbed, recommended him to Charles, as one “ free of partiality or any factious humour.” Napier had no connexion or sympathy with the confederacy formed by Rothes and Balmerino. But he had long watched with anxiety the measures both of James and of Charles with

* Vol. ii. p. 129.—Guthry (Memoirs, p. 23) remarks that the “tumult was taken to be but a rash emergent, without any pre-deliberation ; whereas, the truth is, it was the result of a consultation at Edinburgh in April [1637], at which time Mr Alexander Henderson came thither from his brethren in Fife, and Mr David Dickson from those in the west country ; and those two having communicated to my Lord Balmerinoch and Sir Thomas Hope the minds of those they came from, and gotten their approbation thereto, did afterwards meet at the house of Nicholas Balfour in the Cowgate, with Nicholas, Eupham Henderson, Bethia and Elspa Craig, and several other matrons, and recommended to them that they and their adherents might give the first affront to the book, assuring them that *men* should afterwards take the business out of their hands.”

regard to the church, and upon various occasions fearlessly offered to them his opinion on that vital subject. The following letter to the former of these monarchs, affords an instructive example of his mode of tendering advice, and also indicates that he already foresaw danger to the crown arising out of that rash policy which irritated the selfish nobles, and rendered the impoverished preachers their tools in the work of democracy :—

“ MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

“ There is come down, a little before the rising of the session, a signature under your majesty's hand, of almost all the chapellanries, prebendaries, alterages, and other small church livings within this kingdom mortified to the chapel royal. I only have seen and perused it. The Lord Treasurer and Commissioners of your majesty's rents have not yet seen it ; and before the twentieth of this month they are not to meet because of the vacation. Therefore I have taken the boldness humbly to intreat of your majesty not to urge the passing of that signature before the council day, which shall be on the twentieth of August instant, at what time the Commissioners of your majesty's rents will meet and consider of your majesty's disadvantage, and other inconvenients that shall ensue, if any be : For I doubt not but your majesty shall be earnestly solicited for that purpose, the pretext being so fair, and your majesty's inclination so pious. To provide for the chapel royal in a large and ample measure is a good work, and worthy of the care of so gracious a Prince ; but to do it by this mortification of all the chapellanries, almost, in Scotland, whereby most of your majesty's greatest subjects' rights shall be questioned, and your majesty's own liberality to poor students or ministers all utterly restrained in this kind, I know not if, after true information, your majesty will think it fit, especially when it may be done by mortification of a part of them, in a large measure. So, humbly craving pardon for this boldness, which my duty enforces, I take my leave,

praying eternal God long to preserve your majesty in all happiness over us.

"Your majesty's true and humble servant,

"ARCHIBALD NAPIER."*

"*Edinburgh, 1st August 1623.*"

Neither was Lord Napier insensible to a weakness in the character of Charles, which was at the root of all that monarch's misfortunes. D'Israeli quotes from the Sloane manuscripts a remark of St John, that "the truth is, the king had an unhappiness in adhering to, and unweariedly pursuing the advices of others, and mistrusting his own, though often-times more safe and better than those of other persons." Clarendon also says, "he had an excellent understanding, but was not confident of it, which made him often-times change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself." These impressions were recorded after the scenes of the great Rebellion had passed away. Napier must have been a close observer of the times, as well as of his royal master, to have noted down, with a spirit of prophecy, reflections to the very same effect even before those scenes had commenced. That Charles, though after the death of Buckingham he assumed the reins of government, never shook off his early habits of dependency,—that he placed a fatal reliance on the probity of certain Scotchmen about his person, who yet were so faithless as to steal his correspondence and turn it against himself,—that he was ever a slave to favouritism, so that the first false steps of his unfortunate reign, the "unseasonable, unskilful, and precipitated dissolutions"† of his sour and ungenerous parliaments, were to screen his private friends from popular pursuit,—that his pious and patriotic intentions with regard to the church and state of Scotland turned to his ruin, from a too implicit reliance upon the rash policy of Laud,—all these circumstances are mournfully

* Orig. MS. *Napier Charter-chest.*

† Clarendon.

commented upon by Clarendon, as having been instrumental in the wreck of empire that statesman lived to deplore. But before the Covenant was imagined, or the name of Covenanter applied, Lord Napier had, in these dispositions of the King, detected the sources of future evil. Among the fragments in his own handwriting, which time has spared, I find the following observations under the title of

"A short Discourse upon some Incongruities in Matters of Estate.

"1. That churchmen have competency, is agreeable to the law of God and man. But to invest them into great estates, and principal offices of the state, is neither convenient for the church, for the king, nor for the state.* Not for the church, for the *indiscrete zeal*, and excessive donations of princes were the first causes of corruption in the Roman church, the taste whereof did so inflame the avarice and ambition of the successors, that they have raised themselves above all secular and sovereign power, and to maintain the same have obtended to the world certain devices of their own for *matters of faith*. Not to kings, nor states, for histories witness what troubles have been raised to kings, what tragedies among subjects, in all places where churchmen were great. Our reformed churches, having reduced religion to the ancient primitive truth and simplicity, ought to beware that corruption enter not in their

* Unfortunately Laud entertained sentiments diametrically opposed to those stated above, which it is interesting to compare with a well known passage from Clarendon, written at a later period. Laud "did really believe that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the church, than the promotion of churchmen to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the highest trust. This opinion, and the prosecution of it (though his integrity was unquestionable, and his zeal as great for the good and honour of the state as for the advancement and security of the church), was the *unhappy foundation of his own ruin, and of the prejudice towards, malice against, and almost destruction of the church.*"—Hist. vol. i. p. 152.—The date of Lord Napier's MS. is probably soon after the coronation visit to Scotland, and when Charles imprudently raised so many churchmen to his councils, and invested Archbishop Spotiswood with the seals of that kingdom.

church at the same gate, which already is open with store of attendants thereat to welcome it with pomp and ceremony.

"2. Tutors and counsellors to young princes, next under God, have the fate of after-times in their hands. For according as the first impressions and maxims of government, where-with these new vessels are seasoned, be solid and true, or subtle and false, so prove the times happy or miserable.

"3. To know men, their abilities, dispositions, and affections is the proper art of princes, their most profitable study, the abridgement of all good government. For, there being no public business which falleth not within the compass of some office or employment, by this knowledge, though there were no other, the prince shall be able to furnish all offices with able and honest men, who, doing the duty in their several spheres and employments, necessarily concludeth a happy government of the whole. Such men are rich prizes, and the most precious jewels of the crown : to take them upon hazard is a lottery, and recommendation is factious ; election *upon knowledge* is the best, and next to that is the common report and reputation, for, *nemo unquam omnes fefellit, neminem omnes fefellere*.*

"4. *Absolute and implicit trust* in whatever they do or deliver without further inquiry, like blind obedience, neither religion nor wisdom doth allow ; for *ipse dixit* is a premiss necessarily inferring truth in God alone ;—it emboldeneth men to deceive,—it maketh the servant great and the master contemptible,—*indicium regis non magni, magni liberti*,†—for prince, like a good horseman and pilot, should *never let the reins and rudder out of his hand*.

"5. Kings are the formal warrant of justice betwixt subjects ; much more are they obliged to [be just]‡ in their own

* No man ever contrived to deceive all the world, just as all the world never deceived any man.

† The kings who magnify their slaves forge for themselves a chain, And bloated minions near the throne bespeak a feeble reign.

‡ The words within brackets are here supplied conjecturally, the manuscript being torn.

deed. To countenance bad causes is most dishonourable to them; of sovereigns they debase themselves to be parties, vilifying thereby the princely authority; thereby, it may be, they get the love of the one, the dislike of the other,—a bad exchange, for *injuries are written in marble, benefits in dust*. Besides, all men find themselves interest in justice; the stopping the course thereof, or perverting it, grieves every heart; wicked are those who move them to it,—like Dalila they cut their hair when they are asleep, and rob them of the subjects' love, wherein their strength consisteth.

“6. To govern well, good counsel and sure information are requisite; *this* is the ground of *that*, for no good advice can be given if the estate of the matter be mistaken. Of the two, *true information* is the most necessary for the affairs of remote kingdoms; for those businesses which require deep advice are managed there where the person of the prince resideth; seldom do great matters occur in remote places, and where they do, the nature of the thing alloweth time of deliberation, (for great bodies have slow motions;) there, if matters go in the ordinary way, all is well; but, without true information, a prince can neither order things, command, sign, nor direct any thing aright.

“7. This is good for the king, ill for the people, good for the people, ill for the king, and contrarily, are incongruities in speech, impossibilities in nature, and cannot be instanced; they divide things indivisible, and separate what God has conjoined, and have wrought bad opinions in the minds of princes and their subjects in some parts of the world; they are false though frequent, and are the eruptions and sallies from the minds of those evil spirits who walk betwixt a king and his people. For a king and his people make up one politic body, whereof the king is the head. In a politic as in a natural body what is good or ill for one is so for both, neither can the one subsist without the other, but must go to ruin with the other.

“8. Princes' letters and laws ought to be clear and perspi-

cuona, without equivocal or perplexed sense, admitting no construction but one. For an obscure law alleged in any cause, gives occasion of more process, more dispute and delay, than the cause itself; and an obscure letter makes the party, in whose favour it is conceived, to come up and require an explanation by a second, and his adversary to purchase a contrary one, (which may be done, where there is double sense and obscurity, without danger, the interpretation being allowed to the contriver, or at least may serve him for excuse, as being his *error* not his *avarice*,* which cannot be where words run in a clear and genuine sense,) whereby the prince * * * * * † and they extremely damned.

“9. Wise princes love rich subjects; for seditious commotions, nor insurrections, do seldom or ever proceed from men who find themselves well in their private estates;‡ but they who are pressed with necessity at home are glad of any occasion or pretext to trouble the public quiet and to fish in troubled waters to better their fortunes. Pernicious, therefore, is that advice to keep subjects low and poor the better to govern them.

“10. To protect faithful servants is a generous and princely part; and [to protect] the guilty, too, against the pursuit of another that is powerful, may perchance seem to maintain a prince's prerogative; but then he ought to be punished by

* The value of this advice was verified in the sequel. In each fresh impulse given to the democratic movement, the covenanting faction excused themselves, as a certain class of writers yet attempt to excuse them, upon some double sense alleged to be detected in the king's concessions.

† Manuscript torn.

‡ The needy Rothes who, as I have said, was the father of the Covenant, was bought off by the prospect of a place and a rich marriage at court. The first great result of the Covenant was, as we shall find, a scramble among its leaders for offices torn from the king's prerogative in 1641; and its subsequent progress was simply the securing by Revolution, what had been so lawlessly acquired by insurrection. Hardly one generous feeling, one Christian impulse, or one legitimate act belongs to the secret history of the Covenant.

[the prince] himself. So shall justice be satisfied, the honour of the king's service, and his prerogative remain inviolated.

“ Those councils (with the like of that kind) wherein the prince's good is pretended, the private ends of these bad councillors only intended, hath been the efficient causes of the ruin of kings, kingdoms, and estates,—which Almighty God can only remead. And therefore, let all good subjects who love their prince and country pray with Solomon, **LORD REMOVE THE WICKED*** from the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness.”

Such were the reflections, on the prospects of king and country, noted in the privacy of his closet, and before the great Rebellion had commenced, by one who may be said to have reared that “ bloody murtherer and excommunicated traitor ” Montrose, and whom we shall presently find sharing and approving every step of his calumniated pupil's career, from his early and mistaken support of the Covenant to his raising of the royal banner in Scotland.

* These words are written emphatically in large letters in the manuscript.

CHAPTER III.

Commencement of the Tumult against the Liturgy—Prominence of the Women—Sir Thomas Hope, Lord Advocate's Note of these Events—State of the revolted Party when joined by Montrose—Induced to take Part in their Proceedings by the Arts of Rothes and the Agitation of the Clergy—The Scotch Covenant—Hamilton sent as Commissioner to Scotland—Sir Philip Warwick's Description of his Person and Character—Extract from the Lord Advocate's Private Diary of the Period—Hamilton's Double-dealing—Montrose's Mission to convert the Loyalists of the North—The King's Concessions factiously met—Character of Montrose's Opposition to the Court—Conduct and Character of his Majesty's Advocate—Extracts from his Diary—General Assembly of 1638—Montrose's Conduct as a Member of that Assembly—Character of Principal Baillie—Hamilton's Report of the Covenanters to the King—Dissolves and quits the Assembly—Argyle declares himself, and is invited to place himself at the Head of the Assembly, which continues to sit—Character of Argyle—Persecution of the Bishops—Extract from the Lord Advocate's Diary relative to these Proceedings—Secret Machinery of the Covenant—Montrose not a Party to the secret Cabals and covert Designs of the Covenanters.

A CURIOUS feature in the history of the ecclesiastical revolution is, that it was commenced by females: not merely that an enthusiastic termagant distinguished herself in the mob by throwing her stool at the clergyman; but, as was universally remarked at the time, and even recorded by the covenanting ministers themselves, the tumult was first raised by women-servants. Upon Sunday the 23d of July 1637, when the royal order for reading the new service was attempted to be fulfilled, in St Giles' church, by the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh, and in the Greyfriars by the Bishop of Argyle, "incontinent the serving-maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since

the Reformation in our nation." This is Baillie's own statement ; and when the anniversary came round, he noted exultingly, " this day twelvemonth the serving-maids in Edinburgh began to draw down the bishops' pride, when it was at the highest." A similar scene at Glasgow he thus describes :— " At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our honestest women, in one voice, before the bishop and magistrates, fell a railing, cursing, scolding, with clamours on Mr William Annan ;" and when this clergyman was proceeding, after supper, to visit the Archbishop of Glasgow, " he is no sooner on the street, at nine o'clock in a dark night, with three or four ministers with him, but some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, staves, and peats, but no stones. They beat him sore ; his cloak, ruff, and hat, were rent ; however, upon his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds ; yet he was in great danger even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search either the plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best quality would have been found guilty." *

* Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, vol. i. p. 8. Mr William Annan was appointed by the Archbishop to preach in Glasgow on Thursday 28th August 1637. He took for his text, 1 Tim. ii. 1., " I exhort that prayers be made for all men." " In the last half of his sermon," says Baillie, p. 8, " from the making of prayers he ran out upon the liturgy, and spake for the defence of it in whole, and sundry most plausible parts of it, as well, in my poor judgment, as any in the Isle of Britain could have done, considering all circumstances. However, he maintained, to the dislike of all, in an unfit time, that which was hanging in suspense between the king and the country. Of his sermon, among us in the synod *not a word* ; but in the town *among the women a great din*. To-morrow, Mr John Lindsay, at the bishop's command, preached. He is the new moderator of Lanerk. At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said, that *some of the women* in his ear assured him, that if he should touch the service-book in his sermon he should be rent out of the pulpit. He took the advice and let that matter alone." It was after this sermon that Mr Annan, who fearlessly had done his duty, was assaulted, as mentioned in the text. " I think," adds Baillie, " that town's commotion proceeds most from *Mr John Bell's*

Thus we have a distinct avowal by a contemporary, and keen partisan of the covenanting cause, that the first tumults against the liturgy were, not the consequence of "a grand national movement," as it has been called, but of a violent mob, chiefly of disreputable women, privately organized by some individuals of better quality, those "plotters" who meanwhile lurked in secret.

On turning to the private Diary of Sir Thomas Hope, his majesty's advocate,* we are struck with the brief and composed manner of his remarks upon the events of a day that created such excitement within his jurisdiction.

"*Service-book, 23d July 1637, Sunday.*—This day the service-book began to be read within the kirks of Edinburgh, and was interrupted by the women.

"*26th July 1637.*—Packet went from the counsel to his majesty, advertising his majesty of the tumult and uproar in all the kirks of Edinburgh, anent the reading of the service-book upon Sunday the 23d of July."

These tumults were not traced to the individuals implicated, for the reason stated by Baillie, "that it was not thought meet to search either the plotters or actors," in case the guilty of good quality should be discovered. Yet the privy-council, of whom was the Presbyterian Lord Advocate, in their letter informing his majesty of the uproar, characterized the resistance as "that barbarous tumult, *occasioned solely*, for any thing we can learn as yet, by a number of base and rascally people." This distracted and divided council, too incongruously composed to act upon any determined plan for protecting either the king's authority or the public peace, were assailed by petitions, or supplications as they were termed, to suspend the imposition of the service-book. Upon the 20th September 1637 a convention assembled, who assumed

vehement dislike of that book." See the whole of this letter of Baillie's, which is most instructive as to the merits of this "grand national movement."

* See Preface.

the title of "Supplicants." Foremost at this assembly was the wily and needy Earl of Rothes; and with him came Cassilis, Eglinton, Home, Lothian, and Wemyss, Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino, Cranston, and Loudon, but not Montrose. The noblemen were accompanied by ministers and burgesses from Fife and the western shires. Their supplications were received by the privy-council; and the excellent Duke of Lennox, who had been in Scotland to attend his mother's funeral, was burdened on his return with the task of fully representing the state of affairs to his sovereign. The council dissolved, but the supplicants still held meetings for the purpose of organizing their force, not being quite satisfied with the numerical demonstration already effected. Various districts were allotted to the most active of the preachers, whose instructions, from the rulers of the movement, would now be shortly expressed by the words, agitate, agitate, agitate! "It was laid upon Mr Henry Rollock to *deal with* those of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale; Mr Andrew Ramsay to take the like pains with those of Angus and Mearns; Mr Robert Murray to *travail* with them of Perth and Stirling shires; and an advertisement was ordered to be sent to Mr Andrew Cant to use the like diligence in the north; and so the ministers disbanded for that time."*

Upon the 17th of October 1637, Balmerino and Loudon, with their clerical assistants Dickson and Henderson, were intrusted with a new measure to forward the insurrection. "This was," says Baillie, "to draw up a formal complaint against the bishops, as authors of the book, and all the troubles that had been, or was like to follow upon it." He adds, "that night these four did not sleep much;" and the result of their vigils was the most intolerant document that had hitherto marked their proceedings. The new petition was presented on the following day for signatures, at a meeting secretly congregated, and the contradictory feelings and expressions which it

* Guthry, p. 27.

elicited from their chronicler are worthy of attention. He says, "all did flee upon it without much advisement;" and, happening to enter the room at the moment when the paper was passing rapidly under their hands, "I asked at one or two what they had subscribed, who could not inform; it seems too many went on *fide implicita*. I desired the writ to be read over to us who were new come in. When I heard the piece, I was in great doubts what to do. Some hard passages were in it, that had neither been reasoned nor voted." Yet Baillie quieted his conscience and signed the paper. "If," says he, "I had refused my hand to it, I had been as infamous that day for marring, by my example, a good cause, as yesterday I was famous for furthering it with my discourse. However, I thought then, and yet think, that the penners were much more happy than wise: I think they were very imprudent to make that piece so hard, so rigorous, so sharp, that they minded to present to so many thousand stomachs of divers tempers." Sharp as it was, no stomach refused it, to whom they dared to offer it; and though some signed it without knowing the contents, and others without approving them, upwards of thirty noblemen, and many gentlemen appended their names; an example which was followed by all the burghs, with the single exception of the exemplary town of Aberdeen. That same day another premeditated tumult occurred, which very nearly effected the murder of the Bishop of Galloway, and actually drove the provost out of Edinburgh, the city being now in the hands of the mob. In the evening certain of the nobility (assembled contrary to the royal proclamation) "used all diligence to have a council for presenting their *magna charta*; which, after great pains, they obtained."

The bishop and the magistrates accused the Supplicants of being the authors of the recent outrage, and added, that the cause of all the tumults was the frequent assemblage in the capital of the disaffected nobles and gentlemen. "In that case," it was artfully replied, "we shall call a convention, to chuse *commissioners* to wait in small numbers upon the privy-

council, in terms of the motion of the provost and the bishop ;” and thus originated the memorable meeting of the 15th November 1637. “ This,” says Baillie, “ was the pretence ; but the truth was, that night [17th October] after supper in Balmerino’s lodging, where the whole nobility I think supped, some commissioners, from the gentry, town, and ministers, met, where I was among the rest ; there it was resolved to meet against the 15th of November, in as great a number as possibly could be had, to wait on the answer of their prior supplication, and to get their complaint once tabled and received.” The ministers accordingly returned to their respective districts, to raise from their pulpits the seditious cries that were to bring the people to this celebrated convention. “ The fame of that 15th day spread at once far and broad, even to the king’s ear, and all were in great suspense what it might produce.”*

That day, too, brought forward Montrose, and the circumstance appears to have created a deep sensation. “ Among other nobles (who had not been formerly there) came at that diet the Earl of Montrose, which was most taken notice of ; yea, when the bishops heard that he was come there to join, they were somewhat affrighted, having that esteem of his parts that they thought it time to prepare for a storm when he engaged.”† It is curious to contrast the confident decision of various historians upon his motives in thus choosing his side, with the paucity of facts that can be found to illustrate them. Certainly he never belonged to the fanatical or puritanical section of those who placed themselves in opposition to prelatical government ; and we have, moreover, the contemporary authority of Guthry for the fact, that, until the 15th of November 1637, it was not known to which side he would attach himself. The statement of his chaplain, Dr Wishart,—and when we consider the circumstances under which that statement was written, it must be regarded as the declaration of the earl himself,—is, that when he joined the insurrectionary

* Baillie.

† Guthry.

nobles, of whom Rothes was then the prime mover,—“ they pretended to nothing else but the preservation of religion, the honour and dignity of the king, the laws of the land, and the freedom of that ancient realm, so happily, so valiantly defended in time of yore from such powerful enemies as the Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, by the sweat and blood, with the lives and estates of their ancestors. And the tales they made they never wanted fitting instruments to tell and spread among the people. It was given out that there was nothing more in the aim of the court of England than that that free people, being reduced to a kind of province, should be eternally enslaved under the power of their old enemies.”

Besides this evidence as to the motives of Montrose in the most mis aken step of his youth, there happens to be preserved in the Advocates' Library an original manuscript deposition, taken in the year 1641, by which it appears that he himself named a minister as having laboured zealously to effect his conversion : “ Thereafter my Lord [Montrose] says to the deponer, ‘ you were an instrument of bringing me to this cause : I am calumniated, and slandered as a backslider in this cause, and am desirous to give you and all honest men satisfaction.’ ” This deponer is Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, the clergyman upon whom, preparatory to the great meeting at which the earl first took a part in public affairs, “ it was laid to travail with them of Perth and Stirling shires,” being the districts in which lay his estates, as well as those of Lord Napier and Sir George Stirling of Keir. But Principal Baillie himself, in a few expressive words, has recorded the most satisfactory evidence that Montrose, instead of having eagerly cast himself into the hands of a faction against the throne, had required the most seducing arts of its leaders to gain him over. “ The canniness of Rothes,” he says, “ *brought in Montrose to our party.* ”

At this convention, held on the 15th November 1637, the treasurer, Traquair, says the author just quoted, challenged their proceedings, “ with great admiration to some of his wisdom and

faculty of speech." But he adds, "the advocate, after some little displeasure at the treasurer for his motion, resolved, that they might meet in law to chuse commissioners to parliament, to the Convention of Estates, or any public business." It was then determined to appoint a committee of twelve, representing as many of the several estates as, in their wisdom, they might see fit that the new constitution should embrace. Rothes, Loudon, Montrose, and Lindsay, were the four noblemen selected; and Sir George Stirling of Keir (Montrose's nephew by marriage with Lord Napier's daughter) was one of those chosen to represent the lesser barons. Thus originated the committee-government of Scotland; and so well was the matter managed, that it seemed to be a conservative act of the privy-council itself, fortified by the legal opinion of the first law-officer of the crown. It was, however, as this annalist himself informs us, a deliberate plan to establish a new and irresponsible administration of their own, at which their contemplated persecution of the bishops might be received and "tabled;" a phrase which afforded a vulgar nomenclature to this unhappy constitution.

The government of the country being thus overturned, the agitators instantly proceeded to the contrivance of their memorable charter, artfully designed by them "the Covenant." Truly it may be characterized as a bond of fanatical sedition, which, by an inevitable progress of its secret machinery, became the source of a woful rebellion. Montrose was not one of the arch intriguers who contrived this too successful scheme of political agitation; he was only one of the enthusiasts whom for a time it cheated: Rothes, Loudon, and Balmerino, with their legal assessor Archibald Johnston of Wariston, and their clerical coadjutor Alexander Henderson,—these five are immortalized as the able but disingenuous authors of the Covenant of 1637.*

* See the history of the Covenant severely but conscientiously exposed by the learned Dr Cook, in his History of the Church of Scotland.

That which, on the very spot, was noted in the covenanting Lord Advocate's private Diary as an insurrection "by the women," and, in the private correspondence of the keenest of the anti-prelatic ministers, as an attempt on the part of "serving maids to pull down the bishops' pride," was not likely to convey to the monarch's ear an impression of the voice of the Scotch people, in any rational sense of the terms. But when the unhappy Charles was enabled to gather this much from the distraction of his councils in the north, that the female servants of Edinburgh, and those who had placed them in the van, were too powerful for his whole executive in Scotland, he became sensible of the necessity of quelling the disturbances there by the presence of a royal representative.

The nobleman whom Charles selected for this important and difficult task, was the favourite who had been accused of plotting to obtain the crown of Scotland for himself. This charge against the Marquis of Hamilton was never thoroughly disproved, though it had been silenced by the king himself, owing to his deeply-rooted affection for his early playmate; and now, as if to leave him not a pretext for ingratitude, he it was whom he chose as his commissioner. An anecdote has already been given illustrative of the character of this minister, in his reception of Montrose at court. The excellent Sir Philip Warwick, after speaking of the father (that prudent marquis, who was the minister of King James), affords a portrait of Hamilton himself, too graphic to be given in other words than his own:—

"He had two sons, James and William, neither of them so graceful persons as himself, and both of some hard visage, the elder of a neater shape and gracefuller motion than his brother; however, I was in the presence-chamber at Whitehall, when, after his father's death, he (the elder) returned from his travels, and waiting on the king from chapel with great observance, and the king using him with great kindness, the eyes of the whole court were upon the young man. His hair was short, and he wore a little black callot-cap,

which was not then usual ; and I wondered much that all present, who usually at court put the best character upon a rising man, generally agreed in this, that the air of his countenance had such a cloud on it that nature seems to have impressed *aliquid insigne*, which I often reflected on when his future actions led him first to be suspected, then to be declaimed against. I have lately seen the memoirs of a countryman of his,* who is master of a very good pen, and hath represented this great man by a light which few others, either of his own nation or ours, discovered him by. Willingly I would sully no man's fame, especially so eminent a person's, for to write invectives is more criminal than to err in eulogies. As for myself I was known unto him and ever civilly treated [by ?] him ; however, I must concur in that general opinion, that naturally he loved to gain his point rather by some *serpentine* winding than by a direct path, which was very contrary to the nature of his younger brother [Lanerick], of whom that gallant loyal peer, the Earl of Montrose, was wont to say, that even when this gentleman was his enemy and in arms against the king, he did it open-faced and without the least *treachery* either to his majesty or any of his ministers,—a character worthy of a great man, though deflecting from duty.”†

• The marquis's mother was well known to be a zealous Covenanter ; but his own principles and intentions were yet a mystery, perhaps even to himself. He had written to the whole nobility and gentry of note to meet him at Haddington, and many “would gladly have done him that honour, but for several reasons it was decreed that none of the subscribers [of the Covenant], no not of his nearest friends and vassals, should go.”‡ It is not surprising, therefore, that when Loudon and Lindsay met him with excuses from the rest of the aristocracy, he was so highly offended as to be on the point of turning his horse's head back again to court. But

* Bishop Burnet's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton.

† Sir Philip Warwicke's Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I., p. 3.

‡ Baillie.

Rothés, "having communed some two or three hours with him in Dalkeith, appeased and removed his mistakinga."* On the 8th of June, he made his viceregal progress from that town to Holyrood House by Musselburgh and Leith. "In his entry, I think, at Leith," says Baillie, "as much honour was done unto him as ever to a king in our country. Huge multitudes, as ever was gathered on that field, set themselves in his way: Nobles, gentry of all shires, women a world, the town of Edinburgh all at the Watergate; but *we* were most conspicuous in our black cloaks, above five hundred on a brae-side in the Links alone for his sight; we had appointed Mr William Livingston, the strongest in voice and austere in countenance of us all, to make him a short welcome." This last compliment, however, the commissioner, who had obtained a timely hint of the probable nature of a covenanting welcome, begged to decline, and it was bestowed upon him afterwards in private. Already had Hamilton adopted that double system, in negotiating between the king and his rebellious subjects, which eventually paralyzed the loyal struggles both of Huntly and Montrose. "The marquis, in the way, was much moved to pity, even to tears. He professed thereafter his desire to have had King Charles present at that sight of the whole country, so earnestly and humbly crying for the safety of their liberties and religion."† But, in the month of November following, he writes to the king in terms which amount to execration both of the covenanting cause and of Scotland! ‡

Montrose was nominated, along with Rothés and Loudon, to treat on the part of the Covenanters with the royal commissioner. Hamilton told these noblemen, and the ministers who were joined in the deputation, that their demands of a parliament and general assembly would be granted; but that great scruples were entertained with regard to the peculiar terms of their Confession of Faith or Covenant as it was called; that the clause of mutual defence was so very general as to serve the

* Baillie.

† Ibid.

‡ See p. 92.

purpose of a combination for defending delinquents against authority and law in any case, rather than to prove a defence (as it professed to be) of his majesty's person and authority, and of the religion, liberty, and laws of the kingdom. The deputation then retired to consider whether an humble remonstrance explaining the dutiful intention of the clause in question should not be drawn up and presented. But the Tables, after a long dispute, determined that such remonstrances were dangerous, and that probably only delay and a snare were concealed in the objection. In a renewed supplication, however, a promise was held out that the expression which had occasioned doubt would be cleared, if the deputation "were not needlessly encumbered with more interrogatories."* On the Saturday thereafter, being June 30, the council met with his grace at Holyrood House, when his majesty's warrant for again holding courts of justice in Edinburgh was ordered to be proclaimed at the Cross, and the Court of Session was appointed to sit on the 3d of July. Accordingly, Hamilton proceeded in state to the session house,† where he lectured their lordships upon the propriety of accelerating business, and making up for lost time. Next day there was a meeting of council, and what passed upon that occasion shall be given from the private Diary of his majesty's advocate.

"4th July 1638, Wednesday. This day the council met at 9 hours, when the marquis exhibited his majesty's declaration, and told the council that he had warrant of his majesty to proclaim the same.

"The declaration being read, it was approved by all. And I, being asked, moved to have acts made according to his majesty's direction therein contained, to have the service-book and acts made for introducing thereof, or of the book of canons, to be annulled. Next, to have his majesty's pardon of

* Baillie.

† With six carriages, four of which were drawn by six horses.—*Hope's Diary*.

all bygone escapes of the people, which I said was in effect contained in his majesty's declaration. The first was granted, and it past, annulling the act in December 1636 and the other in June 1637, anent the service-book, and declaring the subjects free thereof, and of all penalties therein contained, and of the other acts, warrants, and proclamations made thereanent, for the keeping thereof in all time coming. And as to the canons, they thought there needed no act, seeing it had no act of secret council for the warrant thereof.

"But as to the second, my Lord Commissioner said that he would declare it to be his majesty's intention to pardon all; but knew it was not the noblemen's desire, because they had not transgressed, albeit the vulgar had. And so that was left till the morrow."

His majesty's declaration, thus exhibited to the council and "approved by all," being proclaimed on the same day betwixt twelve and one o'clock, "was," says Baillie, "heard by a world of people with great indignation; we all marvel that even the commissioner could think to give satisfaction to any living soul by such a declaration, which yet oft he professed, with much confidence of that piece before it was heard. There must be here some mystery which is not yet open." The proclamation was as usual protested against, and Rothes, Montrose, and Loudon, were sent to remonstrate with his grace against any act of council approbatory thereof. So distracted were the privy-council, that, after having approved of his majesty's declaration at the council-table, and signed an act to that effect in their chamber, "the unreasonableness of their grievous injury being remonstrated to them, they fell presently to repent, and for our satisfaction did not rest till they had got back that subscribed act and rent it in small pieces." "The commissioner went away on the Monday early, after he had given some good words to our nobles."

What were those "good words" which, between the meeting of council on the 4th and the departure of his grace on the

9th of July, the latter had bestowed upon the covenanting nobles, Baillie does not inform us ; and the advocate has no record of occurrences during that interval. This blank, however, appears to be supplied by the record of the minister of Stirling, who tells this extraordinary story :—

Montrose, Rothes, and Loudon, with their reverend coadjutors, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, on the 5th of July, the day after the successful protestation against his Majesty's declaration, "returned to his grace, and found him more plausible in treating with them, even publicly before Roxburgh, Southesk, the treasurer-depute, and justice-clerk, and other counsellors that were present. But that which came to be most talked of, was something which at their parting he told them in private ; for, having desired those lords of council to stay in that chamber till his return, himself conveyed them through the rooms, and stepping into the gallery, drew them into a corner, and then expressed himself as follows :

" ' My lords and gentlemen, I spoke to you before those lords of council as the king's commissioner ; now, there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotsman : If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please ; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone. A word is enough to wise men.'

" This, having been spoken in private, I should not have mentioned, were it not that it came shortly after to be public, and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better, and others worse than it was. My warrants for what I have set down are these ; *1st*, That the same very day Mr Cant told it to Dr Guild, who the next morning reported it to Mr David Dalgleish minister at Cowpar, Mr Robert Knox minister at Kelso, and Mr Henry Guthry [the narrator] minister at Stirling ; *2dly*, The said Henry being that night with the Earl of Montrose at supper, his lordship drew him to a window, and there told it him, in the very same terms wherein Dr Guild had reported it to him ; adding, that it wrought an impression, that my Lord Hamilton might intend by this business to

advance his design ;* but that he [Montrose] would suspend his judgment until he saw farther, and in the mean time look more narrow to his walking."†

Be this as it may, Hamilton, having managed matters in Scotland so as to satisfy the leaders of the Covenant that they had the ball at their foot, returned in the month of July to report progress to his majesty, and to obtain instructions as to the demand for an assembly and parliament. In the interval, the malecontents were most anxious to bring under subjection the loyalists in the north, that when the commissioner returned, it might be said that the whole of Scotland was within the pale of the Covenant. Montrose was the leader intrusted with this important expedition, which, however, so far from having any thing warlike either in preparation or object, was merely a progress of itinerant agitators. That Rothes organized the scheme, and influenced him in the conduct of it, appears to be proved by the following letter, addressed by the former to his cousin, Patrick Leslie, and dated 13th July 1638, shortly before the earl and his party arrived at Aberdeen.‡

* Alluding to the universal suspicion against Hamilton of a covert design to place himself on the Scottish throne, for which Lord Reay had denounced him to the king and country.

† Mr D'Israeli says, "This remarkable conversation is given by Bishop Guthry, who at the same time furnishes his authorities ; the same story had reached Montrose in the same words." It appears to have escaped the critical observation of D'Israeli, that the story is, that Hamilton addressed the speech to Montrose himself, who, from his own knowledge, repeated it to Guthry in the very same terms in which it had previously reached Guthry through another of the deputation.

‡ There is no notice of this expedition in the Journal of the Lord Advocate, who meanwhile was sitting for his portrait.

"20th July 1638, Friday. This day, William Jameson, painter (at the earnest desire of my son Alexander), was suffered to draw my picture."

"27th July 1638. Item, a second draught by William Jameson."

The celebrated portrait-painter of the period, called the Scottish Vandyke, has been always recorded as *George Jameson*. Nor is there any of that profession known by the name of William Jameson.

"LOVING COUSIN,

"Because your town of Aberdeen is now the only burgh in Scotland that hath not subscribed the Confession of Faith, and all the good they can obtain thereby is, that if we sail fairly, as there are very good conditions offered, they shall be under perpetual ignominy, and the doctors that are unsound punished by the assembly; and if things go to extremity because they refuse, and in hopes of the Marquis Huntly's help, the king will perhaps send in some ship or ships and men there, as a sure place,—if that be good for the country, judge ye of it. It is but a fighting against the High God to resist this course, and it is so far advanced already, that, on my honour, we could obtain with consent, 1. Bishops limited by all the strait caveats; 2. To be yearly censurable by assemblies; 3. Articles of Perth discharged; 4. Entry of ministers free; 5. Bishops and doctors censured for bygone usurpation, either in teaching false doctrine or oppressing their brethren. But God hath a great work to do here, as will be shortly seen, and men be judged by what is past. Do ye all the good ye can in that town and in the country about,—ye will not repent it,—and attend my Lord Montrose, *who is a noble and true-hearted cavalier*. I remit to my brother Arthur to tell you how reasonable the Marquis Huntly was, being here away; he was but slighted by the commissioner, and not of his privy-council. No further. I am your friend and cousin,'

"ROTHES."

Montrose was accompanied upon this occasion by Lord Couper, the Master of Forbes, Arthur Erskine (a brother of the Earl of Mar), Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys, Sir Robert Graham of Morpie, and, instead of an armed host, three

There is an original portrait of Sir Thomas Hope in possession of the Faculty of Advocates, ascribed to Jameson, besides others in possession of his descendants. Either the name of this celebrated artist has been hitherto erroneously given as George, or the advocate was mistaken in writing it William.

ministers, called the "three Apostles of the Covenant," namely, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant. The district to be honoured with this special visitation was an oasis in the desert ; and there all that was rational, well-ordered, and estimable, was yet predominant. Scriptural phraseology did not pass current for piety, nor the dark and disgusting ravings of fanaticism for the out-pourings of gifted and enlightened minds. The town and college of Aberdeen were at this time rich in divines and professors eminently distinguished for their learning, integrity, and good sense. These upon the present occasion sustained their high character, and baffled by their learning and temper the excited emissaries of the faction. But this expedition is not worthy of any more particular notice in the life of Montrose. Suffice it to mention, that he returned from it in the month of August 1638, with a parchment of insignificant signatures to the Covenant, the most worthless laurel he ever gained. The loyal doctors of Aberdeen remained in possession of the field of argument and learning, triumphing over their antagonists, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant.

"This night, 9th August 1638," notes the Lord Advocate in his Diary, "the Marquis of Hamilton returned from court, and with him the Laird of Panmure. God give a blessed success in the public business of God's truth."

It seems, however, that Hamilton returned with an altered countenance. "The commissioner," says Baillie, "came back before his day, and Dr Balcanqual with him. He kept himself more reserved than before. His mother he would not see. Colonel Alexander he did discountenance. Mr Eleazer Borthwick he met not with. After four or five days parleying, no man could get his mind. The king indeed was displeased with his mother, and when his brother Lord William's patent for the earldom of Dunbar came in his hand he tore it for despite, as he professed, of her. Colonel Alexander openly did give countenance to the nobles' meetings. Mr Eleazer was the man by whom his grace, before his commission, did encourage

us to proceed with our supplication.* From all these now his grace's countenance was somewhat withdrawn." Yet, when last in Scotland, Hamilton had so impressed the Covenanters with the belief of his inclination towards them, that even Henderson, their most honest and able apostle, ventured to print, as an argument in his controversy with the doctors of Aberdeen, that the commissioner himself was favourable to the Covenant, and well satisfied in regard to all their proceedings,—an assertion which that nobleman now took the utmost pains to contradict.

Upon his return to the north in August, the marquis, in name of the king, offered certain reasonable proposals for the restoration of order, the security of the persons and property of the lieges in Scotland, and the protection of the freedom and constitutional form of elections, as the necessary conditions of summoning an assembly and parliament. These conditions, however, were vehemently resisted by the covenanting leaders, their object being to obtain such control over the returns as would ensure the power of retaining the Tables, though under a different denomination. Again Hamilton proposed to consult his majesty, and quitted Edinburgh on the 25th of August, promising to come back with an answer as speedily as possible.† He

* Mr Eleazer Borthwick is now known to have been the great emissary between the growing revolutionary factions of England and Scotland. He was a Scotch clergyman, but of the political temperament too apt in those times to supersede the pastoral duties.

† Lord Advocate's Diary. His son followed the commissioner on the 27th, for of that date the advocate notes:—

"My son, Mr Alexander, took his leave of me for court, and I gave to him the King of Sweden his great piece of gold, weighing an ounce and more.

"Item, given to Mr Alexander, to make his expenses in his journey, 4 double angels; to his man Andrew, 3 dollars; to his coachman John, 3 dollars."

This was the advocate's fifth son, known as Sir Alexander Hope of Grantoun. At this time he was, through the influence of Hamilton, attached to the household as royal carver. The advocate notes, on 12th December 1634, that of that date he received a letter from court, informing him "that my son at Windsor was sworn (by his majesty)

returned upon the 15th of September, having suggested to the king a method of superseding the Covenant itself by putting in place of it the Confession of Faith of the previous century, and commanding it to be signed by his privy-council in Scotland, and by the whole nation. The renewal of this Protestant confession, and his majesty's unqualified recall, by proclamation, of every measure that could be construed an innovation upon the religion, laws, and liberties of the country, might well have satisfied the people. The *people*, indeed, would have been satisfied, but it was the invariable tactics of Rothes and his party to meet the concessions of their sovereign with a specious and public protestation. The demands of the Covenanters, and their conduct throughout, have been variously commented upon, and by none with more effective severity

in extraordinary carver." And he notes elsewhere how he thanked the Marquis of Hamilton for his favour to his son Mr Alexander.

After Charles I. and Montrose had both met their fate, Sir Alexander Hope still contrived to retain his court influence, but at one time brought himself into jeopardy by presuming a little too far. A few months after Montrose's execution, and while Charles II. was submitting to the disgrace of being crowned by Argyle,—“ Sir Alexander Hope, whom his majesty, at the solicitations of some of his friends, hath made gentleman-usher of his privy-chamber, and master-falconer in Scotland, came within these two days and made his addresses to the king, to let him know there were two brothers of his, both Lords of the Session [Sir John Hope of Craighall and Sir James Hope of Hoptoun], that were very much his majesty's humble servants, that were troubled in conscience to see him take those ways he now was in, and, foreseeing his destruction if he persisted in them, they were restless till they sent his majesty their humble advice, which was, that he should speedily treat with Cromwell, quit his interest in England and Ireland, give cautionary towns for the performing of the articles, and content himself with this country [Scotland] till he had a better opportunity and means to recover the rest. To which his majesty resolutely and discreetly answered, that he would see both him and his brothers hanged at one end of the rope, and Cromwell at the other, before he would do any such thing: and went immediately and complained of it to the Committee of Estates, who presently confined him to his lodging, and sent to examine him and his two brethren; but what they will do with them is not yet known.”—*Carte's Ormonde Papers*, vol. i. p. 410.

than by Dr Cook. Speaking of the crisis to which we allude, he observes, "The various acts of concession were regularly proclaimed, and it was with much reason hoped that moderate men would be contented, and would resist any endeavours to thwart the intentions of the king. A protestation, however, replete with the most disingenuous reasoning, and evincing the determination of the leading Covenanters to resist all terms, was read ;* and the Earl of Montrose appeared upon this occasion in name of the discontented nobility. This conduct of the Presbyterians cannot be justified."†

Unquestionably this crisis displays Montrose in one of the most unfavourable positions of his early career. But, nevertheless, though thus excited, and carried with the movement, he was an active partisan of the Covenant only in public. Of the secret machinery and ultimate objects of the political leaders with whom he now acted, he was cognizant only in proportion to the congeniality of his dispositions with those of Rothes and Argyle. So long as he aided the revolt, he was a mere instrument of the factious nobles and the fanatical clergy, though, to use Baillie's phrase, "very hard to be guided."

Another conspicuous person of those times, who vehemently opposed the reception of the king's Confession in its true sense, was Sir Thomas Hope, his majesty's advocate for Scotland. This lawyer was characterized, and influenced in all his public conduct, by that peculiar cast or habit of mind which substitutes a certain phraseology for the spirit of religion. He was one of those who identified the Presbyterian forms with Christianity itself, through the same morbid perception that could not distinguish between Episcopacy and idolatry.‡ Not only,

* It was read by Archibald Johnston, and most probably composed by him. It is inserted at full length in the king's Large Declaration.

† History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 450, 451.

‡ The origin of Sir Thomas Hope's distinction in the legal profession was his popular defence (undertaken when no other lawyer would venture to do so) of the Presbyterian ministers who were brought to trial and banished in 1606, for violently and publicly maintaining that the king and his council possessed no authority or jurisdiction in ecclesi-

therefore, was he intent upon the abolition of all those decent rites which during the last reign had been superinduced upon the reformed church in Scotland, but he urged it as a point of faith, necessary to salvation, that the Covenant (abjuring the corruptions of Popery, and the papal dependency of the hierarchy) which King James and the nation had signed in the previous century, should be interpreted as a decision on their part that the name and office of a Protestant bishop was a deadly sin in the sight of God.

Such being the temper in which his majesty's advocate received the offer of his royal master, to supersede the democratic Covenant of Rothes by the Protestant Confession of 1580, it is not surprising that this scheme, mismanaged as it was by Hamilton, only served to fan the fires of sedition. But, in justice to Sir Thomas, we must here extract from his private Diary what he had noted on the subject.

" 18th Sept. 1638. I returned from Craighall, by letters from the Lord Treasurer advertising me of my Lord Marquis his return, who returned on Saturday 15th Sept. 1638.

" 19th Sept. 1638. This day I met with my Lord Marquis at Holyroodhouse.

" Item, received from my son, Mr Alex^r, my rod, with the king's majesty's portrait on the head of it, of porcupine pens, or of the schellpoddokis.

" 26th Sept. 1638. I returned to Craighall, where I abode till 20th October.

" 20th October 1638, Saturday. This day I came from the

astical affairs. Hope, notwithstanding this apparent hostility to the court, became Lord Advocate to Charles I., and a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, having been previously joined in the office of advocate with Sir W. Oliphant of Newton. The peculiarity in the career of this distinguished individual was, that he contrived to unite in his own person the very opposite characters of an artful courtier and a fanatical Covenanter, and to reap all the benefits to be derived from either. The position of his son, Sir Alexander, at court, with whom he constantly corresponded, and who was patronised by Hamilton, enabled him to do so.

Queen'sferry to Edin^r, about 7 hours in the morning, and met with my Lord Marquis at Holyroodhouse.


"Item, I had conference with my Lord Marquis, on 25 and 27 October ; and then I received from him his majesty's letters, with certain questions to be answered.

"28th October 1638, Sunday. This day the communion was celebrated at Edin^r ; and, after sermon, was read the summons against the bishops to compear in the General Assembly at Glasgow, 21 Nov^r next.

"29th October 1638. This day I met with the Lord Marquis, and gave him the note of the Act of General Assembly in July 1580, read in the kirk on the last Sunday ; and in respect thereof counselled him to acquaint his majesty, or [before] he should proceed further in urging of the subscription of the Confession of Faith,—except his grace be fully minded to bind the subjects by the oath to exclude Episcopacy ; for I declare in respect of it, that I am bound by oath to abjure it, and that now I cannot be free to answer the questions.

"Last October 1638, Wednesday. The Lord Marquis sent for me, and craved an answer of the questions ; whereof I thought myself exonerated, by reason his grace had said, on Monday, that I needed not be hasty in answering till his grace should advertise me.

"Item, in conference with his grace, I found him to make many shifts anent the oath of the Confession 1580,—that it did not include discipline, and albeit it did, that discipline was chargeable ; which wonderfully afflicted my mind ; for now I found that he proposed to put a gloss upon the oath which, I said, was impossible. Immediately after my return from him, I humbled myself on my knees to my Lord, and in prayer vowed to adhere to my oath, with hazard of all perils, and thereto craved the Lord's help and assistance. And if the noblemen had abstained from their protestation, and subscribed the Confession 1580 according to their own application thereof, which is according to God's truth, and the true meaning of the Confession 1580, they had *putt the bane soundlie in futt* of their



adversaries. But, in respect of their refusal, they have put a weapon in the king's hands, at least the pretext of one, that in their disobedience to his command, which is of a thing commanded by God, they have another end nor [than] the matter of religion. But God is the Great Disposer of men's minds and thoughts.

"1st Nov^r 1638, Thursday. This day the Lord Commissioner came to Session, and urged the lords to subscribe the Confession 1580, who all did it, except the Lord Innertail, the Lord Dury, my son the Lord Craighall, and my Lord Scottistarvet.

"2d Nov^r 1638. Item, in my letter to my son Mr Alex^r, insert a note of my proceedings in Council on last of October, wherein I opposed Episcopacy as contrary to my oath."

It was in this month of November 1638 that the General Assembly met at Glasgow. If, in the history of that memorable assembly, we do trace indications of Montrose having been factious and intemperate, we see proofs at the same time that he was distinguished, by his manly and open bearing, even from such Covenanters as Henderson and Baillie, who are too frequently represented to us as if they had passed without a blemish through those transactions. A marked feature of this assembly, and of the covenanting revolution generally, was this, that in regard to all the main articles of "the cause," its most plausible professions and principles were contradicted by its practice. Popish tyranny and superstition were vaguely and irrationally imputed to the measures of Charles,—yet grossly manifested in the acts of the insurgent rulers, and the doctrines of their favourite clergy. A freely constituted National Assembly was seditiously demanded from the king,—and the Covenanters proceeded to pack a convention by means subversive of the fundamental principles of liberty and freedom of election. The inviolate possession of the laws was tumultuously maintained against a monarch who had no intention to subvert them,—and yet, before the inquisitorial tribunal of

1638, churchmen and statesmen of the first respectability, already condemned unheard, were summoned to receive their doom from self-appointed judges, who disregarded the essential rules of evidence, and seemed even to scorn the attributes of justice and mercy. It is the unpleasant duty of Montrose's biographer to record all that can be discovered of his conduct and demeanour as a leader in that unconstitutional assembly, which, while it arrogated the power and professed the forms of law, and, moreover, pretended to every attribute of Christian purity and divine right, took no step that was not illegal, pronounced no sentence that was not unjust, manifested no feeling that was not unchristian, and, finally, has left, even in the record of its proceedings by an enthusiastic member,* a beacon to be avoided in after-ages by every legal court and ecclesiastical community. Even the vaunted freedom of this convention was a mockery and a cheat. It was tyrannically packed by, and for the purposes of, a faction. "Thirty-nine presbyteries," says Baillie, when recording the constitution of the assembly, "already have chosen their commissioners *as they were desired*," by the Tables in Edinburgh.

Certain private instructions had been sent to the presbytery of Brechin to direct them in the choice of a representative. Erskine of Dun was elected in this capacity, by the voice of *one* minister, and some lay elders. Thereafter, they met in a greater number, and, by the votes of all the other ministers and elders, Lord Carnegie, the eldest son of the Earl of Southesk and Montrose's brother-in-law, was chosen. The former commission having been transmitted by the presbytery to be advised by the Tables, was returned with an *imprimatur* on the back of it, to this effect, that the election must be sustained, while that of Carnegie was illegal, having passed contrary to the instructions given them. The leading signature to this bold assumption of authority was the name of Montrose,

* Baillie.

who, accordingly, now tendered Erskine's commission to be read publicly by the clerk of the assembly. Baillie says, "The clerk, I think unadvisedly, read in public not only the commission, but also the Tables' subscribed approbation on the back." It is mentioned elsewhere that the same functionary recited various reasons written on the back of Erskine's commission in support of it, "in which, amongst other things, it was objected against the Lord Carnegie's election, that it was made contrary to the directions of the Tables at Edinburgh, which the clerk perceiving stopped, and would read no further."* But the commissioner instantly caught at the advantage, and demanded a copy of that commission, with the deliverance on the back, and the names of those who had subscribed it. The earnestness with which Hamilton pressed this demand, in the name of the king, and the severity of his animadversions upon the proceedings of the disaffected party, present one of those contradictory views of his conduct which sometimes raise a doubt whether his object was to support the king or the Covenant. It must be observed, however, that upon the present occasion the marquis knew that Montrose was the person responsible for this undisguised assertion of the supreme jurisdiction of the Tables. The following additional particulars of this scene are quoted from the manuscript of James Gordon.

"Montrose disputed for Dun, and by eighty persons attested Dun's election. Southesk disputed for Carnegie his son, with whom the commissioner, in Carnegie's absence, took part; but the assembly sided with Dun. The stir grew so great that the moderator wished both their commissions to have been annulled before such heat should have been. To this did Southesk answer sharply. The moderator replied that he had been his minister twenty-four years, yet had never wronged him. Loudon then said that no lord ought to upbraid a moderator; and then Southesk excused himself and qualified his own words. The contest betwixt Montrose and Southesk grew so

* The King's Large Declaration.

hot that it terrified the whole assembly, so that the commissioner took upon him the moderator's place, and commanded them all to peace."

Baillie supplies a fact of some importance to our estimate of Montrose's conduct and character, while thus evoking the demon of revolution. This clergyman's own objection to the proceedings was, not that the Tables controlled the presbyteries, but that the earl should have been so rash as to commit his party by a written declaration to that effect on the back of the commission, and the clerk of the assembly so hasty as to read it aloud. "When," says he, "Mr David Dickson spake of this back writ as having some negligence in it, Montrose took him hotly, and professed their resolution to *avow the least jot that was wrote.*" It is the same author, too, who records that even when the earl was with the Covenanters, they found "his more than ordinary and evil pride very hard to be guided." The fact is, that his courage and honesty were not a little troublesome to his present associates.

Some writers, regarding Baillie as a prodigy of learning, wisdom, and religion, imagine that all which he has uttered respecting Montrose must be received as infallible. A careful perusal of that clergyman's letters, however, suggests the question, Was he capable of understanding the character and appreciating the motives of this nobleman? Baillie was learned, in the sense of having acquired (it is said) a knowledge of thirteen languages; he had a conscience, for it cost him no little trouble to keep it quiet; he was more enlightened than some of his brethren, for he dissented from the opinion that Episcopacy was a sin in the sight of God,—although he continued to make common cause with its most irrational abjurers and destroyers; nay, he was loyal, for he entertained a secret admiration, as well as a species of latent kindness, for the monarch whose ruin he nevertheless so zealously aided to accomplish. But neither his learning nor his conscience was sufficient to save him from becoming a blind instrument in the hands of democratic spirits; and thus it is that the voluminous

records he has left (in those letters to his kinsman which some have dignified with the name of history) present so many inconsistencies. Whatever judgment he possessed was continually overwhelmed by fits of fanaticism, and all his good qualities of modesty and moderation became strangely mingled with obstinacy and violence, as his not very powerful mind grew more and more excited under the fantastical and too triumphant banner of the Covenant.*

Upon the 27th of November 1638, Hamilton wrote a letter to the king, speaking of the popular faction in terms which would have astonished their deluded chronicler, whose character we have just been considering. "Now," says the marquis, "for the Covenanters I shall only say this: In general they may all be placed in one roll, as they now stand; but certainly, Sir, those that have both broached the business, and still hold it aloft, are Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, Cranston. There are many others as forward in show, amongst whom *none more vainly foolish than Montrose*. But the above-mentioned are the main contrivers." Taking this letter in connexion with Bishop Guthry's anecdote, it brings out a game of double-dealing, forming a perfect pendant to what Hamond L'Estrange has recorded against him on the former occasion. To Montrose and the rest of the covenanting deputation, his grace represents the king as an enemy to Scotland, who must be energetically opposed in order to be vanquished. To his majesty, on the other hand, he points out Montrose, not indeed as one of the deep contrivers of the Covenant, but as a weak and showy adherent, intoxicated with a vain ambition,—just such a character, in short, as he predicted when he induced Charles to exclude him from court.

Upon Wednesday the 28th November, Hamilton dissolved the assembly, which determined however to sit without the


* In proof of this character of Principal Baillie, I refer the reader to his "Journals and Letters," *passim*.

royal authority, in order to effect their schemes against the bishops. "When the moderator," says Baillie, "pressed the voicing if we were the bishops' judges, there fell a sad, grave, and sorrowful discourse. This was the commissioner's last passage; he acted it with tears, and drew, by his speech, water from many eyes, as I think,—well I wot much from mine, for then I apprehended the certainty inevitable of these tragedies which now are in doing. Much was said of his sincere endeavours to serve God, the king, and his country; of his grief, yet necessity, to depart. The cause, he alleged, was the spoiling of the assembly, which he had obtained most free, by our most partial directions from our Tables at Edinburgh." Was it his earnest desire for the constitutional purity of the assembly, or his jealousy of Montrose, that induced Hamilton to seize upon the circumstance, which the other alone had *avowed*, as the cause of his departure and of his leaving the bishops to their fate?

This was the occasion when Argyle, though not even a member of assembly, now openly declared against the king, and placed himself at the head of the government of Scotland. The vast possessions, the great following, and inaccessible strongholds of this potentate, left him, notwithstanding his constitutional nervousness, without a competitor in such a pretension. As we are soon to find Montrose under his deadly persecution, we must here shortly illustrate his character and present position.

Archibald, lord Lorn, afterwards Earl, and Marquis of Argyle, is generally described as of mean stature, with red hair, and a most sinister expression of countenance and obliquity of vision. This delineation is abundantly confirmed by the original portrait of him in the family;* and the picture is well authenticated by all that is known of the man.

* A singular mistake occurs in Lodge's Portraits. An engraving from the portrait of the Grim Marquis is attached to the life of *his son*, and another portrait given as that of the former.



"Montrose," says Clarendon, "had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt, of the Marquis of Argyle (as he was too apt to condemn those he did not love), who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree." The same noble author also remarks of these rivals, that "the people looked upon them both as young men of unlimited ambition, and used to say, that they were like Cæsar and Pompey, the one would endure no superior, and the other would have no equal." De Retz confirms the comparison as regards Montrose,—the parallel between Pompey and Argyle would be more difficult to illustrate. The father of this last had embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and the king, never papistically inclined, commanded him to divest himself of his vast territorial rights in favour of his son, reserving only a competency for his own life. Clarendon tells us that Lorn had provoked his parent by "disobedience and insolence;" and the old earl meditated such a disposal of the property as threatened his representative with impoverished titles. Charles, to save the family, made that arrangement which banished the father, and extorted from him those memorable and prophetic sentences, "'He would submit to the king's pleasure, though he believed he was hardly dealt with;'" and then, with some bitterness, put his son in mind of his undutiful carriage towards him, and charged him to carry in his mind how bountiful the king had been to him, which yet he told him he was sure he would forget, and thereupon said to his majesty, 'Sir, I must know this young man better than you can do; you may raise him, which I doubt you will live to repent, for he is a man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it.'"

Argyle well understood the art of ingratiating himself with the fanatical portion of the Scottish clergy. For some time he even persuaded them that he was as capable in the field as in the senate; and he professed, and was by such believed,

to be under the immediate direction of the Almighty in all his political and martial movements. His character was another puzzle for Baillie ; and the naïveté of the principal's record is not less amusing than instructive. "Before his grace's departure, Argyle craved leave to speak, and that time we did not well understand him ; but his actions since have made his somewhat ambiguous speeches plain." When the commissioner left them, the meeting were in a state of confusion and perplexity, and "some three or four Angusmen, with the Laird of Aithie, departed, alleging their commission had an express clause of the king's countenancing of the assembly." The moderator, Loudon, and some others, harangued them on the propriety of protesting against the marquis's departure, and of their continuing to sit. To this all agreed ; but, adds Baillie, "it was good we were all put to it presently, for if it had been delayed till the morrow, it is feared many would have slipt away." On the morrow, however, "Argyle came back to us. The moderator earnestly entreated him, that though he was no member of the assembly, yet, for the common interest he had in the church, he would be pleased to countenance our meetings, and bear witness of the righteousness of all our proceedings. This, to all our great joy, he promised to do, and truly performed his promise. No one thing did confirm us so much as Argyle's presence, not only as he was by far the most powerful subject in the kingdom, but also at this time in good grace with the king and the commissioner. We could not conceive but his staying was with the allowance of both, permitting him to be amongst us to keep matters in some temper, and hold us from desperate extremities." The fact is unquestionable, however, that Argyle took this opportunity of unmasking himself, and of usurping, after *his* kind, the government of Scotland. Under the peculiar circumstances, his thus taking the vacant place of royalty was equivalent to being declared king. Charles had honoured and trusted him (he was even a privy councillor), notwithstanding the solemn declarations of the old earl, that neither loyalty, nor truth,

nor social feeling, would be found in his son Lorn. This prophecy was now to be fulfilled. The revolutionary convocation of 1638 assembled in that nobleman's patrimonial kingdom of the west, and, suddenly left without a head, was now ripe for his lurking ambition. How accurately had his father predicted in that solemn warning to Charles! A few years from the time it was uttered, and disregarded, the king himself was constrained to publish a most severe commentary upon the conduct and character of Argyle.*

Under the auspices, then, of this very equivocal character the destruction of the Episcopal clergy commenced; and we may pause for a moment to consider the "righteousness" of the proceedings to which this designing intruder was called to bear witness, and to countenance. The bishops declined their judges, a step consistent at once with respect to their own characters and to the fundamental principles of the constitution. From their presbyterial Vatican the assembly now proposed to launch the thunders of excommunication. Baillie opposed this. "Excommunication," says he, "seemed to me so terrible a sentence,—and that obstinacy, the formal cause of it, required admonition and some delay of time, after the close of the process,—that I voiced him" (the Bishop of Galloway, their first victim) "to be deposed, but not presently excommunicated. In this I was followed by some five or six, but the rest went on to present excommunication. I remained that night in my negative voice, that no bishop should be excommunicated till they had gotten more time to declare their contempt of public admonition from the pulpit of Edinburgh and their cathedral; yet, considering better of their declinature, I found it an obstinate avowing of extreme contempt, and so, to-morrow, I professed my recalling of my yesterday's voice, and went with the rest in a present excommunication of all the declining bishops." And yet, if a bishop, when he heard of extravagant and false accusations entertained against him

* King's Large Declaration, 1639, p. 325.

in his absence, proposed to appear and justify himself, that proposition was termed impudence. "The Bishop of Brechin," says Baillie, "followed. He was proven guilty of sundry acts of most vile drunkenness, also a woman and child brought before us that made his adultery very probable; also his using of a massy crucifix in his chamber. The man was reputed to be universally infamous for many crimes, yet such was his impudence, that it was said he was ready to have compeared before us for his justification; but was stayed by the marquis, lest his compearance should have been [taken] for an acknowledgment of the judicatory."* It is something however in favour of this bishop, that he was an acquaintance of his majesty's advocate; for, whatever might be the failings of the latter, he was rigidly decent and dignified in his domestic habits. The following notice of Brechin's excommunication occurs in Sir Thomas's Diary:

"17th Decem. 1638.—This day I went to the Abbey, and met with my Lord Commissioner, and was to take my leave of his grace. But he told me that he was not to go away suddenly, and that he would send for me before he went. Item, here the Bishop of Brechin, Mr Walter Whytfurd (as I was

* Baillie's prejudiced statement of what he says was proved against this prelate is, under the circumstances, worthy of no credit. In their absence the most improbable charges were received against the accused, and the very accusation was considered tantamount to fact. Baillie himself sometimes was conscious that the monstrous charges were incapable of proof. Speaking of the Bishop of Murray, he says, "Murray had the ordinary faults of a bishop;—a fourteen days ago Mr Henry Pollock excommunicated Murray, and, as I think, in the great church; to perform, as he said, the man's own prophecy, who said in that place, 'he would yet be more vile to please the king.' There was objected against him, but, as I suspect, not sufficiently proven, his countenance of a dance of naked people in his own house, and of women going bare-footed in pilgrimage not far from his dwelling." No unprejudiced mind can be otherwise than persuaded, by the perusal alone of Baillie's History of the Assembly of 1638, that that convocation totally disregarded all the established rules of evidence and fair trial.

standing in the gallery* with my Lord Lauderdale, and my Lord Maitland† his son), came furth from the marquis ;‡ and I, being unwilling to salute him, turned my back, and, as soon as he was passed by, I went into the chamber at the end of the gallery. And I was not long there when Mr Walter Whytford came and called for me : And I told him that there had been inter-acquaintance betwixt him and me of before, but now I must suspend it. And he asked, wherefore ? And I said, because of the intimation of his excommunication yesterday, the which I heard read. He answered, that I was bound by promise to his majesty to assist Episcopacy. I answered that my promise was in civil privileges, but not in those which concerned spiritual and ecclesiastical power. He replied that I had solicited bishops to admit ministers. I answered, but I did it in respect they had then both the keys in their hands, but now they wanted one of them, which was the chiefest, viz. assembly. And then he fell out in these disdainful words, ‘ Ye are over pert, that dare have respect to any acts of your rebellious assembly, seeing his majesty discharges them to sit under pain of treason.’ And with this he flew away.”§

Among the manuscripts of the Advocates’ Library, there is an original anonymous letter addressed to the procurator of the Kirk, which sheds some light upon the question how far this very Bishop of Brechin had been righteously dealt with by the Assembly of 1638. Taken along with Baillie’s indignation at what he calls this prelate’s impudence, for proposing to face his accusers and to justify himself, it seems to prove

* The great gallery of Holyrood House.

† The notorious Lauderdale, who was prime minister, and persecutor of the Covenanters, in the reign of Charles II. : though, when Lord Maitland, a keen Covenanter.

‡ Upon the occasion, probably, alluded to by Baillie, when the bishop had been advised by the Marquis of Hamilton not to acknowledge the assembly by appearing to justify himself.

§ This curious anecdote, Sir Thomas Hope entitles, on the margin, “ Mr Walter Whytford’s misbehaviour.”

that all the most zealous Covenanters considered that the destruction of the Episcopal clergy must be effected *per fas et nefas*, and that the precepts of Christianity, and the golden rules and principles of equity, were by no means to enter into their definition of "righteous proceedings." The letter alluded to, which is dated immediately before the meeting of the very assembly that was to try the bishops, is most material to the merits of that anomalous court of justice; for it shows that, although these prelates were summoned to the bar of the assembly, and excommunicated for declining that unconstitutional and unscrupulous jurisdiction, it was secretly predetermined, by those who ruled the movement, that rather than suffer the bishops to meet their accusers, or even to show themselves in public, a mob should be secretly organized for their "terror and disgrace."

"Dear Christian brother, and courageous Protestant. Upon some rumour of the prelate of St Andrews coming over the water, finding it altogether *inconvenient* that he, or any of his kind, should show themselves *peaceably* in public, some course was taken how he should be entertained in such places as he should come unto. We are now informed that he will not come, but that Brechin is in Edinburgh, or thereabout. It is the advice of your friends here, that, in a private way, some course may be taken for *his terror and disgrace*, if he offer to show himself publicly. Think upon the best way, by the advice of your friends there. I fear that their public appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudicial to our cause. We are going to *take order* with his chief supporters here, Glaidstanes, Scrymgeour, and Haliburton. So wishing you both protection and direction from your Master,* I continue your own, whom you know, G. 26th October 1638."

These instructions are addressed to Archibald Johnston of Wariston, he who was elected clerk and procurator for the

* Meaning the Almighty! This letter appears to have escaped the observation of those historians who will not credit Bishop Guthry's anecdotes of the secret organizing of the tumults.

Kirk by that same assembly ; and at the very time when these means were taken to drive the bishops into hiding-holes, the pulpits were resounding with the summons against them to appear !

Montrose had no hand in this peculiar mode of promoting the cause of religion and liberty ; but it is the least favourable circumstance in the history of his career, that, being a member of an assembly to which this secret machinery belonged, he was, more or less, committed to all their *public* proceedings. He had not even the poor excuse of fanaticism, nor does he appear to have been imbued with a persecuting spirit against the prelates, or to have sanctified to himself the unchristian feelings with which they were pursued. He had adopted the opinion that bishops should be excluded from the constitution of the church of Scotland, and that the original Covenant of King James should be renewed and maintained to that country for ever. But he took no part in the forms of process or rules of evidence that were outraged in these proceedings. He was careless (as he afterwards declared) about bishops and their fate ; and it required another step in advance against the throne to rouse his juster feelings, and to redeem him from the false position of his ardent youth.

CHAPTER IV.

Preparations of the Covenanters for Civil War—Alexander Leslie—Montrose's Expeditions against the Loyalists of the North—Brings Huntly Captive to Edinburgh—Transactions there during Montrose's Absence—Extracts from the Lord Advocate's Diary—The King at York with an Army—Hamilton secretly counsels the King to adopt extreme Measures against Scotland—Lord Napier's Account of the State of the King's Information relative to Scotland—His Desire to accommodate Matters with his Majesty—Lord Advocate's Note of the Meeting of the Lords of Council and Session on the Subject—Hamilton in the Forth with a Fleet—His extraordinary Policy and Conduct—Success of the Loyalists in the North—The Lord Advocate's Vision upon the Occasion—Covenanting Army of 1639—Its Characteristics—Montrose returns to the North to quell the loyal Barons—His lenient Conduct towards Aberdeen displeasing to the Covenanting Clergy—Montrose defeats Aboyne—King's Cause in the North betrayed by Hamilton—Montrose forces the Passage of the Dee, but declines to obey his Instructions from the Committee of Estates to burn Aberdeen—Returns from the North.

BEFORE the assembly of 1638, and ere the king had been led by Hamilton to contemplate the necessity of an appeal to arms, the junto at Edinburgh,—who suffered neither Montrose nor Baillie to have admittance to what the latter calls the "secret wheels within the curtain, where the like of me wins not,"—had been secretly preparing for civil war, by collecting ammunition, pikes and other offensive weapons, and enticing home, from mercenary campaigns on the continent, numbers of their countrymen, who had served the very best apprenticeship for the purposes of the covenanting leaders. "Now," says that honest and most amusing chronicler, Spalding,

“about this time, or a little before, there came out of Germany, from the wars, home to Scotland, ane gentleman of base birth, born in Balvany, who had served long and fortunately in the German wars, and called to his name Felt-marshall Leslie, his Excellence. His name, indeed, was Alexander Leslie, but by his valour and good luck attained to this title, *his Excellence*,—inferior to none but to the King of Sweden, under whom he served amongst all his cavallirie. Weill, —this Felt-marshall Leslie, having conquest, frae nought, honour and wealth in great abundance, resolved to come home to his native country of Scotland, and settle beside his chief, the Earl of Rothes, as he did indeed, and coft fair lands in Fife. But this earl, foreseeing the troubles, whereof himself was one of the principal beginners, took hold of this Leslie,—who was both wise and stout,—acquaints him with this plot, and had his advice for furthering thereof to his power. And first, he advises cannon to be cast in the Potter-row, by one Captain Hamilton; he began to drill the earl’s men in Fife; he caused send to Holland for ammunition, powder and ball, muskets, carbines, pistols, pikes, swords, cannon, cartill, and all other sort of necessary arms, fit for old and young soldiers, in great abundance; he caused send to Germany, France, Holland, Denmark, and other countries, for the most expert and valiant captains, lieutenants, and under-officers, who came in great numbers, in hopes of bloody wars, thinking (as they were all *Scots* soldiers that came) to make up their fortunes upon the ruin of our kingdom (but the Lord did otherwise, blessed be his holy name); he establishes a council of war, consisting of nobles, colonels, captains, and other wise and expert persons, and in the beginning of this month of January, began to cast trenches about the town of Leith.”

Thus the “canniness” of Rothes did more for the cause, by taking hold of Felt-marshall Leslie, than could possibly have been effected by any other means; for, having entered into covenant with his chief against his sovereign, the veteran mercenary, full of talent, experience, and military resources,

bent his whole energies to the fulfilment of the object, and the attainment of his own reward, which then he little dreamed was to be an earldom from the king himself. As yet invested with no particular command, he continually sat at their Tables, the mainspring of their military movements, and, by his indefatigable exertions, not only put them in possession of the castle of Edinburgh (which Hamilton had left nearly defenceless), and the other strongholds of the kingdom, but organized an army sufficiently formidable to march to the Borders against the royal standard.

At this crisis Montrose was again commissioned to crush the efforts of Huntly in the north before the king's forces reached Scotland, as a vigorous diversion, occasioned by the loyalists in that quarter, would be more than the Covenanters could successfully cope with in addition to invasion by land and sea. But the same evil genius of Charles, who infused the materials of certain failure into the royal expedition, took effectual measures to prevent the efficiency of the nobleman he had recommended to the lieutenantcy of the north. If we may trust the record of a contemporary clergyman, James Gordon, minister of Rothiemay,—it was not merely by withholding supplies from Huntly, and the power to act with vigour, that Hamilton ensured his discomfiture; he is said actually to have written a secret letter to the malecontents, which he contrived to convey to them in a pistol, and “which private advice was to curb their northern enemies, or to expect no quarter from the king.”* The same writer asserts that this information was the “main reason” of the activity of Montrose, at this time, to subdue the loyal marquis in the

* This anecdote rests on the contemporary authority of James Gordon's MS. I have not met with it elsewhere. If the separate and distinct anecdotes of Hamilton's double dealing, narrated by Hamond L'Estrange and Bishop Guthry, be true, there is the less difficulty in believing this one; if they are not true, it is remarkable that so many elaborate fabrications, from different sources, should have been got up against this nobleman, whose general policy and its result do not tend to redargue the calumnies.

expedition we are about to notice. But, even without this anecdote, there is sufficient to account for the earl's present excitement, in the approaching invasion from England, and the warlike transactions throughout Scotland, under the military agency of Alexander Leslie.

Early in the year Montrose had been skirmishing in the north with Huntly ; and having ascertained the weakness of the royal lieutenant, he now returned to the attack, followed by the cavalry of the Mearns, Angus, part of Perthshire, and of other districts to the north of the river Forth. Levies of foot were also drawn from these counties, trained, regimented, and put under experienced officers (called from abroad for that purpose), and placed at the command of the same nobleman, now invested with the title of general. Moreover, in the quality of adjutant, there was added to his councils no less a personage than Alexander Leslie. Huntly was well aware of this gathering storm ; but all the aid and encouragement he could obtain from Hamilton were instructions to gain delays and to risk no blood.

In the month of March 1639, the earl arrived at his own house of Old Montrose to prepare for this expedition, accompanied, among others, by Argyle and Lord Couper.* Before

* In the Napier charter-chest there is a deed which bears that,—“ We, James Erle of Montrois, Lord Græme and Mugdok, for the singular and special love and favour quhilk we haiff and bear to Lady Beatrix Græme, our lawful sister, and for the better advancing of the said Lady Beatrix to ane honourable mareage, according to her rank and dignity,”—obliges himself and his heirs to secure to the said Beatrix the sum of twenty thousand marks, for tocher. This condition, however, is added : “ Providing always, likeas we haiff gevin and grantit thir presents upon this special provision and condition, and no utherwyse, that, in case it suld happen the said Lady Beatrix,—as God forbid,—to defyle her body, or join herself in mareage with any person without our special advyse and consent, then and in these cases, or uther of them, thir presents to be null.” This deed is signed by Montrose himself, “ at Auld Montrois, the 27th day of Merche 1639,”—the very time when he was in all the bustle and excitement of preparing for his march upon Aberdeen. It had probably been consigned to the custody of Lord Napier.

his troops were collected, there came to him, as commissioners from Huntly, Robert Gordon of Straloch, and Dr William Gordon, a professor in the university of Aberdeen ; and along with these, as representatives from that loyal city, Dr William Johnston professor of mathematics, and George Morison one of the town council. The proposal they offered was, that Montrose should confine his military operations to the country south of the Grampians, which divide Aberdeenshire from Angus and the Mearns, until it should be known what prospects there were of a treaty between the king and the Covenanters. Huntly on his part promised to keep himself within the bounds of his own lieutenantcy, and to take no measures against the insurgents be-north the barrier mountains. To this peaceful overture, which was much pressed upon Montrose by the commissioners, he would only reply that, in terms of an act of the assembly he was bound to visit the college of Aberdeen, but that he and his followers would pay for whatever they took, and refrain from all acts of violence. The result of the negotiation may be given in the words of James Gordon, the son of Robert Gordon of Straloch, and who accompanied his father in these missions.

“ How soon they returned from Montrose to Aberdeen and related their answer, which was nothing pleasing to many, Huntly began to rendezvous his men, and against the 18th of March, had about two thousand two hundred foot and horse well armed at Inverury, but all of them country people, and though none wanted good will, yet few or none were amongst them who had skill to command, or had ever been upon any considerable service. Huntly, who neither had orders to fight nor great confidence in the skill of his commanders, resolves at least to put a good face upon the matter, and to keep his men together till he might see the utmost of it. To which purpose he despatches the former commissioners towards

The object of her illustrious brother's solicitude, Lady Beatrix, became the wife of David, third Lord Maderty, Montrose's friend and follower.

Montrose, from the rendezvous at Inverury, once more to try if his former offer of cessation would be accepted, or at least to gain time till he might have new advertisement from the king, from whom he hourly expected it, either to engage or retire; or if none of that could be acceptable, at least to let him know what the Covenanters' pretences were, and what they desired of him. The commissioners took little rest till they came where the Earl of Montrose was. They found him in the town of New Montrose,—which is two miles eastward of Montrose's Castle, Old Montrose, and both standing upon the river of Southesk,—with General Leslie in his company, and a considerable number of cavaliers and soldiers, making his rendezvous for his expedition. Thither likewise had he caused bring two pieces of brass demi-cannon, with some other lesser pieces,—strange ingredients for the visitation of a university,—as supposing he should be driven to make a breach in the new walls of Aberdeen, before he should get entry. But when the commissioners began again to urge their former propositions in behalf of Huntly, they could draw nothing from Montrose but fair and general answers, which either signified little, or were flat refusals, or were slightings of all their proposals. They told the commissioners, by way of derision, that they behoved to come to Aberdeen to proclaim the General Assembly, which was to be holden that year at Edinburgh, and some such neglectful undervaluing answers, and that they behoved to proclaim the Assembly of Glasgow 1638. Nor did the commissioners insist much, for at their return they saw Montrose's motion towards the north not like to be retarded by what they had to say, being that he had taken so little notice of their last coming as that he did not pause nor delay his rendezvous one hour, nor his march anywhilst, upon that account.

“At this time likewise, the Covenanters began to wear and take for their colours blew ribbons, which they carried about them scarf-wise, or as some orders of knighthood wear their ribbons. *This was Montrose's whimsies.* To these ribbons

ordinarily the cavalry did append their spanners for their firelocks, and the foot had them stuck up in bushes in their blue caps, which device seemed so plausible, that when the army marched towards the border some short time afterwards, many of the gentry threw away their hats, and would carry nothing but bonnets, and bushes of blew ribbons or pannashes therein, in contempt of the Englishers, who disdainfully called them blew caps and jockeys.*

"The commissioners at their return had news that Huntly was disbanded, and had retired himself to Strabogie. Whether it were that he had changed his resolution after he sent away the commissioners towards Montrose, or that before their return, which was but two nights, he had some advertisement from the king so to do, I cannot, nor ever could afterwards, certainly learn. The last I dare not confidently affirm, being that about that very time and day which was his rendezvous at Inverury, March 18th, the king's household entered their journey towards York, and the king himself took not journey towards York till March 27th, which was after Huntly's disbanding some days."

The retreat of the king's lieutenant enabled the northern Covenanters, under the Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes, to march without molestation to join Montrose at Aberdeen, who had entered that city "on Palm Sunday, 30th March, with a *veni, vidi, vici*." Their combined forces, eleven thousand strong, were paraded on the links; on which occasion, besides his distinguished adjutant, he was accompanied by the Earl

* Spalding thus notices "Montrose's whimsies" :—"Few or none of this haill [whole] army wanted a blue ribbin hung about his craig [neck], down under his left arm, which they called the *Covenanters' ribbin*. But the Lord Gordon, and some other of the marquis's bairns and family, when he was dwelling in the toun, had a ribbin of a red flesh colour, which they wore in their hats, calling it the *royal ribbin*, as a sign of their love and loyalty to the king; in despiht and derision whereof this blue ribbin was worn and called the *Covenanters' ribbin*, by the haill soldiers of the army, and would not hear of the *royal ribbin*,—such was their pride and malice."

Marischal, the Earl of Kinghorn, Lords Elcho, Erskine, and his own brother-in-law, Lord Carnegy, whom he had endeavoured to unseat in the assembly.

After remaining a few days in Aberdeen, where they met with no resistance, and which they completely disarmed, Montrose and Leslie marched to Inverury to encounter Huntly, leaving behind them the Earl of Kinghorn as governor of the town. "They did lie down at Inverury with open leaguer, having drawn along with them some short field-pieces of three feet long, or thereby, which, for all that, were of an indifferent wideness, and did shoot an indifferent great ball. These pieces,—commonly nick-named *Dear Sandie's Stoups*, as being the invention, or so thought, of Colonel Alexander Hamilton, master of their artillery, who himself was nick-named *Dear Sandie*,—were the ordinary field-pieces that afterwards, for some time, were made use of by the Covenanters."* Huntly in the mean time had retired to the Bog of Gicht; and, anxious to relieve the north from the oppressive visitation of the covenanting army, he wrote to Gordon of Straloch once more to become a mediator betwixt them. This gentleman immediately proceeded to Montrose's quarters at Kintore, where he found the earl disposed to enter into treaty; and it was finally arranged that he and Huntly, each accompanied by eleven of their friends, should meet a few days afterwards, at Lowess, a village about nine miles south of Strathbogie, and five miles north of the Covenanters' camp. The respective parties met at the appointed place (Lords Oliphant and Aboyne being with Huntly, Lords Elcho and Couper with Montrose), armed only with walking-swords, and such was the mutual jealousy or formality of the meeting, that a gentleman from either party was appointed to search the other, for fear of hidden weapons. The two chiefs respectfully saluted each other, and after interchanging some expressions of courtesy, stepped aside and held together a long private conversation, to which

* James Gordon's MS.

the rest were merely spectators. Huntly's friends were somewhat offended at the privacy of this conference, and James Gordon adds, that he never could learn what were the particulars of the personal dialogue between the leaders, which did not transpire. The immediate effect, however, was an agreement quite unlooked for. After a few hours occupied in this manner, the marquis mounted his horse, and, without reason assigned, rode forward with Montrose and his friends to the leaguer at Inverury, where he and his astonished companions, among whom was Straloch, were entertained with great respect and forbearance. The result was, that Huntly signed a paper, the precise terms of which are not known, but which seems to have been some qualified version of one or other of the Covenants, amounting to no more than a declaration in favour of the national religion and liberties.

Montrose, being no party to the covert designs of Rothes and Argyle, was but a blundering performer. Left, upon this particular occasion, to his own devices for furthering the cause, he was not only willing to accept of very equivocal converts, but, totally forgetting the importance of the *Magna Charta* of his party, now attempted to make Covenanters of *papists*, by the ingenious device of waiving the Covenant itself,—as the play of Hamlet was modified by the itinerant manager. The anecdote is not noticed in any account of Montrose that I have seen, except in the manuscript of James Gordon, who thus narrates it :—

“ Huntly (besides consenting to oblige himself to maintain the king's authority, together with the liberties both of church and state, of religion and laws) likewise purchased some assurance to his friends and followers. They were of several predicaments. Some of them were landed gentlemen of his name, or his associates, but not his vassals,—others were his own followers and tenants, and amongst these, some were protestants and others papists. Assurance was given for all of them in the general that they should not be harmed, nor any thing that belonged to them, they carrying themselves peaceably,

and such of them as would subscribe the Covenant, as they were invited to it, so they were content to let them advise upon it, and not to be hasty with them ; and Huntly was content to restrain none who were willing to take the oath of Covenant. The difficulty only remained for *such as were papists*, and so not like to subscribe the Covenant, how they should be secured ; as also what assurance might be expected from them. To this purpose, there was a mids fallen upon with all such, that they should be *taken under protection*, they subscribing a declaration of their willingness to concur with the Covenanters in maintaining the laws and liberties of the kingdom ; and that the papists might be encouraged into the subsigning of such an obligation and bond, there was a declaration emitted *by Montrose* to that purpose, signed by such noblemen as were present with him at that time at Inverury, and by Huntly amongst the rest. The *principal copy of that declaration having fallen into my hands some short time thereafter*, and being as yet by me, I have set it down word for word, it being but very short, and it is as follows :—‘ For as meikle as those who by profession are of a contrary religion, and therefore *cannot condescend to the subscribing of the Covenant*, yet are willing to concur with us in the common course of maintaining the laws and liberties of the kingdom, these are therefore requiring that none of those who, being papists by profession, and willing to subscribe the bond of maintenance of the laws and liberties foresaid, shall be in any ways molested in their goods or means, nor sustain any prejudice more than those who have subscribed the Covenant.’ (Signed) ‘ HUNTLY, MONTROSE, KINGHORN, ERSKINE, COUPER.’ ”*

When Huntly arrived with Montrose at the encampment of Inverury, he there perceived many of his own private and

* This proves that Montrose had no bigoted or fanatical feelings with regard to the Covenant itself, and is consistent with the fact, that when he considered the liberties of the country no longer in danger from the king or his advisers, he refused to follow any further the covenanting movement.

personal enemies among the Forbeses and Frasers, and immediately became sensible that every attempt would be made on their part to induce the earl to regard him more unfavourably than he had hitherto done, and perhaps to detain him prisoner. Too proud to enter into conversation himself on the subject, he commissioned his friend Straloch to tell our hero to be on his guard against the prejudiced counsels he would receive from these individuals against the king's lieutenant. Gordon accordingly watched his opportunity, and, finding the earl alone in his tent, discharged himself of his confidential mission, and told him, that if an attempt were made to take Huntly south with them as a prisoner, the country would not so quietly submit to the outrage as his enemies imagined. Montrose observed, that very probably these people bore the marquis no good will, and that, indeed, he knew as much from themselves; but, for his own part, he was willing to do for him all the good offices he could, and would fail in no promise to him; "only," he added, "there is this difficulty, that business here is all transacted *by vote* and a *committee*, nor can I get any thing done of myself." "You have done so much by yourself already," rejoined the other, "why not the whole! If you be so inclined, of which I make no doubt, then, being General here, and the principal person upon this expedition, when you stand to your point, Huntly's enemies must yield." To which Montrose replied, "I shall do my utmost for Huntly's satisfaction,"—and with this answer, says James Gordon, who narrates the above, his father was dismissed; nor, he adds, did the earl "fail of the performance of his promise; for that night, after Huntly had subscribed the paper agreed upon, Montrose was content that he should return peaceably to his own house, which he did accordingly, not without the great discontent of those who would have had him detained."* Having thus

* I have adopted this circumstantial account by James Gordon, whose father was one of the party. Spalding says, that the meeting

disposed of the royal lieutenant, he broke up his camp at Inverury, and marched back to Aberdeen.

On the 9th of April, the covenanting army was joined by the Earls of Murray and Seaforth, the Master of Lovat, and others (with about 300 horse, well armed), who came to offer their assistance in the field or in council. Accordingly, about this time, a committee was held, which sat some days, by whom the state of the north, and the position in which Huntly had just been placed, were eagerly discussed. It appears that his enemies were not satisfied with the manner in which he had been treated by Montrose ; and the declaration of the latter to Straloch, that he had no control over the councils of his officers, and was overborne in committee, now became verified. The marquis was again requested to meet the Covenanters ; a motion to which he acceded, upon receiving assurance from their general and the other leaders that he would not be detained prisoner. No sooner had he arrived, however, than the Forbeses and Frasers, and more especially Crichton of Frendraught (his sworn foe), began to urge his detention in the most vehement manner, and the result was very discreditable to the party that effected it. Various obligations and new terms were attempted to be imposed upon Huntly, who indignantly demanded that the bond of maintenance he had signed at Inverury should, in the first instance, be restored to him. The paper being immediately delivered to him, he asked, "Whether will ye take me south with you as a captive, or shall I go voluntarily?" The commander-in-chief promptly answered, "Make your choice." "Then," said the other, "I will not go as a captive, but as a volunteer." Upon this affair, James Gordon thus comments : "Whether Montrose was content to be overborne by votes, that so it might

at Lowess occupied two days, the 4th and 5th of April ; that on the evening of the 4th, Huntly slept at Pitcaple, and Montrose returned to the camp ; and that, after parting on the second day, Huntly went not near the camp, but straight to Strathbogie.

be his greater glory to lead Huntly to Edinburgh as a trophy of his conquest, or if, indeed, Montrose was overpowered, and constrained to yield to the clamours of the northern Covenanters, who had drawn the south country men their way, it is uncertain ; but, however, it was concluded that Huntly must go along with them to Edinburgh under a guard, though not disarmed as a prisoner, which was accordingly performed. So Montrose and his party, within less than a fortnight after their coming, marched south again, establishing a committee of the Forbeses and Frasers, and their associates, to guard the country, which they easily undertook, Huntly being now out of the way. He went to Edinburgh foot for foot with Montrose, accompanied with his two eldest sons, George Lord Gordon and James Viscount of Aboyne, who voluntarily went along with their father, Lord Ludovick Gordon being but a young boy at school in Boig (Gordon Castle) with his grandmother ; the others, Lords Charles and Harry, young children ; the last of the two in France, where he was born ; so none of the three in capacity to be taken notice of. True it is, that for that time, when Huntly, contrary to parole, was made prisoner (for I can give it no better name), few or none of the Covenanters resented that dealing, but rather allowed it ; yet it did avail them nothing who were the main abettors thereof, being exposed to greater affronts by his followers, immediately thereafter, than if he had staid at home, who would have undoubtedly, according to assurance given, have kept in his followers. And for Montrose's going along with that action, it is most certain, to the best of my knowledge, for I write this knowingly, that it bred such a distaste in Huntly against Montrose, that afterwards, when Montrose fell off to the king and forsook the Covenanters, and was glad to get the assistance of Huntly and his followers, the Marquis of Huntly could never be gained to join cordially with him, nor to swallow that indignity, which bred jars betwixt them in the carrying on of the war ; and that which was pleasing to the one was seldom pleasing to the other ; whence it came to

pass, that such as were equally enemies to both (who knew it well enough) were secured, and in end prevailed so far as to ruin and destroy both of them, and the king by a consequent."

Such is the account of this matter, somewhat unfavourable to Montrose, as recorded by a friend and follower of Huntly. Menteith, whose history of the troubles was written in French, and printed at Paris in the year 1661, states positively, that when the marquis made his appearance, under promise of safety, at Aberdeen, "immediately they commenced to solicit Montrose not to suffer him to remain in his own country, whatever promise he had made him to the contrary; and although Montrose opposed them to his utmost (*s'opposast de tout son pouvoir*), to prevent their breaking the parole that had been given, nevertheless, his single authority being insufficient to prevent it, Huntly and his eldest son were carried prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh (in the month of April 1639), from whence they were not liberated till the peace of Berwick."

It was in the months of February, March, and April, of the year just specified, that Montrose was thus occupied in the north. For the sake of connexion, we may glance at what was passing in Edinburgh at the same time, and in doing so need offer no apology for quoting largely from that very curious, and hitherto unknown source of information, the Lord Advocate's Diary.

"29th January 1639, Tuesday.—This day in council his majesty's letter was read, declaring his majesty's purpose to come to York, about Easter next, to accommodate all affairs in a fair way, which was ever his majesty's purpose, and to effect that has made his majesty approach the nearer. And desires the council to advertise his majesty, if in the mean time any things occur concerning his majesty's service, an that his majesty will rely much on their judgment. Also, his majesty declares that his majesty will acquaint them with his majesty's further proceedings betwixt and that time."

"But," says Guthry, "the noblemen and ministers who had the leading of affairs, professed to have intelligence that the king intended nothing but to carry the war into Scotland; and accordingly they convened at Edinburgh, upon the 20th of February, for resolving upon a defensive war, and that at this meeting a paper, setting forth reasons for the lawfulness and necessity of such a war, and prepared by the Advocate, Balmerino, and Henderson the minister, was read; upon which, all who had convened with one voice consented to the raising of an army, and voted Leslie to be general thereof."

There is nothing entered, in the Advocate's own Diary of the month of February 1639, relative to this measure, or indeed to any public business; but, on Friday the 1st of March, he records:

"This day the council sat, and a letter drawn up, to be sent to his majesty, with the noblemen's supplication, complaining and craving justice of * Stirling, for writing of a letter to Berwick, to Mr Thomas Sydserf, affirming that the noblemen were levying money and men to invade England."

It is curious to find, immediately after the foregoing record of indignant loyalty, the following entries:


"21st March 1639. This night, between four and six at night, the castle of Edinburgh *braschit* by pittards, and taken in by the nobility.

"22d March 1639. This day, being Friday, the session sat, where Sir Robert Spotiswood president, the justice-clerk, and treasurer-depute, were present. But at night the president went off town.

"23d March 1639. This day, being Saturday, the president went off town, and a number of the session met, and were required by the nobility to subscribe the Covenant. Item, this day a number of the Covenanters went to take in Dalkeith, and took it."

The reasons that induced the president to quit his post at

* This blank is in the Diary.



this time are made very manifest by what follows in the Advocate's Diary :—

"26th March 1639, Tuesday. *Waponschaws*.—This day the waponschaws of Edinburgh, wherein there were of musketeers 1500, and of pikemen 1000, by [*i. e.* not including] commanders. Item of the College of Justice, of musketeers 270, and of pikes 167, by commanders, and those who were with the four lords who went before, viz. Durie, Innerteil, Craighall, and Scottistarvet, and a number of the auld advocates and writers ; so that the College of Justice was about 500.

"Item, this night sure word came that Dumbartane was taken in on Sunday 24th March, by a stratageme."

Charles I.,—"his ears so straitly beleaguered that truth could not come near them,"* surrounded by traitorous councils, showy but inefficient troops, and disaffected leaders, Hamilton his minister, Holland and Arundell his generals,—arrived at York on the night of the 30th of March. The secret advice given by the first of these noblemen was to crush Scotland. At the very moment when he was gaining the good graces of his native land for his covenanting tendencies, the marquis thus wrote to the king,—“It is more than probable that these people have somewhat else in their thoughts than religion, but this must serve for a cloak to rebellion, wherein for a time they may prevail ; but to *make them miserable*, and bring them again to a dutiful obedience, I am confident your majesty will not find it a work of long time, nor of great difficulty, as they have foolishly fancied to themselves.—I have missed my end (he adds) in not being able to make your majesty so considerable a party as will be able to curb the insolence of this rebellious nation without assistance from England, and greater charge to your majesty than this miserable country is worth.”†

* Lord Napier's MS.

† Letter, dated 27th November 1638, in the Hardwicke Collection ; referred to before, p. 52.

These were the counsels that ruled the destinies of the king. It was impossible for the monarch to do otherwise than respond in a tone of royal indignation against his unruly and insatiable subjects, and to prepare for civil war, which he could no longer avoid. Seeing every thing through a false medium, ignorant of the actual state of his cause in Scotland, and continually distracted by contradictory counsels, it was impossible for him to avoid that occasional inconsistency of conduct, and uncertainty of purpose, which his enemies have so violently strained into a charge of habitual duplicity. Four years had elapsed since Lord Napier, in classical language, privately recorded his opinion of the manner in which he was surrounded by selfish advisers.* Being well acquainted with the real dispositions and temper of the sovereign, whose father he had long served at court, he knew that his present warlike attitude was forced upon him by circumstances beyond his own control, and by "those evil spirits who walk betwixt a king and his people."† He deeply felt that "those counsels wherein the prince's good is pretended, the private ends of these bad counsellors only intended, hath been the efficient causes of the ruin of kings, kingdoms, and states."‡ His knowledge of Charles, even from his boyhood, and various personal communications with him on the subject of redressing wrong, enabled him to judge, that if, in moments of provocation, he breathed fire and sword against his rebellious subjects, his spirit was as placable as it was royal, and that his present menace would be satisfied by the return of Scotland to loyal deportment, without the sacrifice either of her religion or liberties.

Accordingly, while Montrose was yet in the north, his majesty's warlike progress towards the border occasioned some important deliberations at Edinburgh, in which Lord Napier appears to have been anxious to accommodate matters in a conservative spirit, opposed, and of course defeated, by the

* See p. 19.

† Lord Napier's MS.

‡ Ibid.

leaders of the revolutionary movement, in the front of which was still the Earl of Rothes. The advocate has preserved some notes of these proceedings which are not recorded elsewhere,—

“ 30th March 1639, Saturday. This night his majesty came to York.

“ 2d April 1639. This day, being Tuesday about six at night, the Lord Napier, Lord Treasurer-deput^e, and Lord Innerpeffer* came to me, and told me that they had met with my Lord Durie,† and that they heard the king’s majesty was come to Newcastle, and was to be at Berwick on the morrow ; and that it was fit that the council with the session should meet together, and resolve all to go toward his majesty, and press it themselves upon his majesty, and deprecate his wrath from his people. And accordingly letters were written to the council and to such of the lords of session as were absent.”

What passed at that night’s meeting appears to have disturbed the advocate’s mind, for the next entry is as follows :—

“ *Words spoken and heard on 3d April 1639 in the morning.* Item, as I awakened on Wednesday in the morning I fell in an earnest in-calling of the Lord, that his Majesty‡ would pity his people, and vindicate them from the power and rage of their adversaries, and would establish the glory of his blessed truth in the land. And while I was praying, these words were spoken, but whether by me or some other I dare not say, but the words were,—‘ *I will preserve and save my people.*’ Whereupon I awakened out of my drowsiness : for I was not sleeping, but as it were oppressed with grief and tears, till these words were spoken, and certainly heard by me. Blessed be God who has a care of his own. And I asked my wife if she heard any speaking ! Who said, not ; and I told her what I heard.”

* Andrew Fletcher of Innerpeffer, a lord of session.

† Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, afterwards President of the Court of Session, of whom the extraordinary tradition, that he was kidnapped, to prevent his judgment of a particular suit, is recorded in the Border Minstrelsy.

‡ Meaning the Almighty.

Upon Saturday the 6th of April, in consequence of the requisition of Lord Napier and his loyal friends, seven of the privy-council and nine of the lords of session met in the session-house "to advise," says the advocate, "for sending some of their number to his majesty to deprecate his wrath against the country." Upon the 10th of April another meeting was held for the same purpose, when they "resolved all to go and cast themselves at his majesty's royal feet; and pre-mittit the Treasurer-depute to try his majesty's acceptance." Accordingly, upon the following day an act to this effect was drawn up, and subscribed by the Earls of Mar, Perth, Wigton, Galloway, Lauderdale, Southesk, Lords Elphinston and Napier, the Lord Advocate and Treasurer-depute, all members of the privy-council; and Innerteil,* Innerpeffer, Balcombie,† Fotherance,‡ Cranstonriddell,§ Craighall,|| Scotstarvet,¶ and Eastbank,** lords of session. Meanwhile, a deputation, consisting of Wigton and Napier of the council, and Durie and Craighall of the session, were appointed to wait upon the noblemen of the Tables, and to acquaint them with this resolution. The result is thus noted by Sir Thomas Hope:—

"12th April 1639, Friday. This day, about six at night, met in my Lord Durie's house, Earl of Argyle, Earl of Mar, Earl of Perth, Earl of Wigton, Lord Napier, the Advocate, the Treasurer-depute, of Council; and Lord Durie, Lord Innerpeffer, Lord Fotherance, Lord Cranstonriddell, Lord Craighall, Lord Eastbank, of Session. And to them came the Earl of Rothes, Lord Lindsay, Lord Loudon, Laird Caprington, George Bruce, John Smyth, and Mr William Cunningham. Where

* Sir George Erskine of Innerteil.

† Sir James Learmonth of Balcombie,—this judge died suddenly, in his seat on the bench, in 1657.

‡ Sir George Haliburton of Fotherance.

§ Sir James M'Gill of Cranstonriddell, afterwards Viscount Oxford.

|| Sir John Hope of Craighall, the advocate's eldest son.

¶ Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, the well-known author of the "*Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*."

** Sir Patrick Nisbet of Eastbank.

the Lords [of Council and Session] acquainted the nobility [of the Tables] that they had directed the Earl of Wigton and the Lord Napier of the council, and my Lords Durie and Craighall for the session, to notify them their resolution ; and that they [of the Tables] had promised to come and declare their opinions of it.

“ And then the Earl of Rothes first, and thereafter the Lord Loudon, show that they had considered of it, and thought it no ways expedient, except they were resolved and satisfied of some doubts ; and proposed first, that they must be sure that they who went up *should be all of one mind* ; which they have reason to doubt, since both council and session had given forth their contrary determinations,—in subscribing the Covenant according to his majesty’s declaration, and in refusing to give horning upon excommunicated persons.*

“ I answered, that the difference of judgment was not the point now ; but, seeing upon it was reason, the apparent and instant peril of kirk and kingdom by two armies coming to the fields, how any happy middis [middle course] may be found to prevene the same (and extremities would not be joined *sine medio*), this is thought fit, and the reason thereof urgent ; that his majesty is bound in justice to try the fault before he punish or execute by a bloody war, which will affect his majesty here much ; and, for their impediments, they have no place here ; for by them *all* mediation is excluded, seeing the *Covenanters* will not be admitted by his majesty to mediate, and the others refused by them.†

* This affords additional evidence of the determination of Rothes and Loudon that nothing should interfere with the movement, and the most violent measures of the church faction.

† That is to say, that such as were not of the violent party were rejected as mediators by Rothes and Loudon. At first the Lords of Council and Session were not required to sign the Kirk Covenant ; but afterwards some of them were induced or compelled to do so. Lord Napier, though avowedly opposed to prelatic government, and the policy of Laud towards Scotland, never signed the Scotch Covenant. The advocate’s speech upon this occasion is not very lucidly

"It was answered, that all mediations were [already] used by supplications, and nothing rested ;* and that their assent to this act would prejudice the cause. I answered, that there was no consent craved of them ; but that the council would not omit that respect to them to acquaint them therewith, lest they should make stop ; and they had gotten an answer *gracious* and *honourable*† to all their preceding supplications ; and nothing now rested but the matter of the assembly, wherein it was to be supplicated from his majesty, first to try if, by the laws of the kingdom, his majesty, *after indiction*, might *discharge* the assembly under pain of treason.‡

"Thereafter the Lord Innerpeffer answered, that the session had done nothing contrary to them [Roths and Loudon], for they had subscribed the [King's] Covenant as it was printed ; and as to the lord marquis his declaration, the same was emitted after their subscription ; and when his grace spake it, they said it was in these terms, that the ordinance of council did neither allow nor disallow of Episcopacy. Item, as to their other uniformity, if they went up, that it was resolved that none should speak but that which, with uniform consent, should be agreed upon by all. And as to their particular opinions, if his majesty did ask them, he declared for himself that he would affirm that the only fittest way to settle all things was to hold a parliament.

"The Lord Fotherance said the same, but with this scruple, that a parliament could not be holden wanting the third estate,

noted in his Diary, but clearly imports that he approved of the "happy middis" proposed by Napier, and others who were not of the revolutionary party of Roths and Loudon.

* *i. e.* remained to be done in that way.

† This is an important admission on the part of the puritanical Lord Advocate.

‡ Alluding to the assembly 1638, which had proceeded to depose the bishops in their absence, and after the royal commissioner had dissolved the assembly in the name of the king. The advocate's speech was probably not more lucid than he has noted it in his Diary, for he was in a false position, and felt himself to be so.

which is established by the act of parliament 1594 to be bishops. And as to the letters of horning against persons excommunicated, the act 1612 declares, that none can be excommunicated but by consent of the bishops.

"The Lords Cranstonriddell and Eastbank all said the like ; and for my Lord Durie and my son [Craighall], they were not doubtit.*

"My Lord Fotherance craved me to clear to him the point of the third estate of parliament, and the act 1597 whereupon it depended ; which I shunned, because we had no time ; but I said, that, quoad jurisdiction in *Ecclesia*, it was suspensive till it were condescended on with the kirk ; and if all the bishops were dead, the third estate would [be !] in other prelates, as abbots and priors."

On the 15th of April, the violent party received additional encouragement from the intelligence of Montrose's success in the northern counties ; for under that date the advocate notes, that "certain word came from the Earl of Montrose and General Leslie, who went to the north, that the Marquis of Huntly was *come in*, and subscribed the Covenant, and gave his eldest son as pledge for his constancy." The terms of this despatch tend to corroborate the statement, that the earl had then no idea of seizing the person of Huntly, or of leading him captive to Edinburgh,—an act which had been subsequently effected by the party who controlled his less tyrannical policy.

After the return of Montrose and Leslie, the warlike preparations of the Covenanters went on vigorously. The latter had been named to the chief command before he went north ; nor can any authority be found for the subsequent assertion of Baillie, that the former became loyal from displeasure at not having been preferred. On the contrary, he co-operated with the veteran in the expedition against Aberdeen ; he accepted

* This opinion was to the effect that the proceedings of the assembly 1638 were illegal.

the charge of a regiment of horse and another of foot in the army now organizing ; and we shall find him immediately hurrying back, at the requisition of the covenanting government, to the north, where a successful movement of the loyal barons again demanded his presence. Upon the 23d of May, the Treasurer-depute (as Sir Thomas notes) “came from Durham, where his majesty was, to Edinburgh, with a proclamation, offering a general pardon, and declaring all that did not accept it to be rebels and traitors, and all their lands to be forfeited.” But neither concession nor menace could now arrest the rebellion in Scotland, which depended entirely upon the will of Rothes and Argyle ; and the renewed attempt of the northern loyalists to co-operate with the king and to revenge Huntly, gave a fresh impulse to the movement in Edinburgh. Moreover, Hamilton was now in the Firth,* where, having brought his country to the highest pitch of excitement and irritation, his sovereign into the most critical position, and having suffered Huntly at that very crisis to be taken prisoner by the Covenanters, he remained, as it were, doubtful which side to espouse.† The transient success of the northern barons under the command of Ogilvy of Banff and Gordon of Haddo (which has entered history by the name of the *Trot of Turreff*), is thus noticed by Sir Thomas Hope :—

“17th May 1639. This day report of the conflict in the north beside Innerury, where Banff, Donald Farquharson, and

* The Lord Advocate thus notices the arrival of the fleet :—“2d May 1639, his majesty’s ships came to Inchkeith, in number 29, and send in their commission to the noblemen ; whereof the Marquis of Hamilton, general.”

† Baillie declares, that he and a few others thought Hamilton “yet a lover of his country,—that the employment was *thrust upon him*,—that he had accepted it with a resolution to manage it for our greatest advantage that loyalty to his prince would permit him.” But Baillie was not aware of Hamilton’s recent letter to the king, in which he denounces them as hypocritical rebels, and forswears Scotland as a *miserable and worthless country* ! Baillie adds, “It was evident he eschewed all occasion of beginning the war, he did not trouble a man on shore with a shot.”

others of the name of Gordon, set upon the Master of Forbes and his companies, being, in horse and foot, 600 men, and Banff not above 400, with some field-pieces, and put the other to flight, without so much as a stroke on the other side ; and the Master of Forbes hurt or taken, and two or three killed."

The Covenanters supposed that this was the signal for a simultaneous movement, on the part of Hamilton by sea, and the king by land. On the 18th of May, the day after the report arrived, an act was signed at a convention of the nobility and commissioners of shires and burghs, declaring that there was a great want of present money to prevent the disbanding of the army, and for the supply of the good cause, and affording security to those who should advance the same. Among the subscriptions of the peers of parliament to this act appear the names both of Montrose and Napier. Nor is this the only evidence of the exciting effect of the news from the north. His majesty's advocate on the morning after awoke with a heavy heart.

"18th May, Saturday, 1639. This day in the morning, I, lying in my bed betwixt five and six, and, upon the grief of the report of the disaster in the north, pouring forth my heart to the Lord in prayer, and saying ' Lord pity thy pure kirk, for there is no help in man,' I heard a voice saying to me, as I did hear it of before on third April last, '*I will pity it*,'—for which I blessed the Lord, and believe that it shall be as my Lord has now twice spoken to me."*

* The advocate and his family were now handling their arms, as if in anticipation of an immediate collision with his majesty :

"12th April 1639, Friday. Lent to my son Mr James my sword and twa pistols.

"22d April 1639. *Petronell*. Given to my son Sir Thomas [Kerse] my petronell or carabin, indentit of rowat work, reserving the use thereof to myself when I call for it.

"4th May. This night the two iron kists, with the writs and evidents being therein, put in the laigh sellar vault,—for eschewing of fire ; and commits the rest to the Lord.

"18th May. *Long Carabin*. Lent to John [Craighall] my long carabin,

The army of the Covenant was now completed, and by the 21st of May was in motion for the border. Sir Thomas records the crisis shortly, but emphatically ; the name of their "little old crooked soldier" he notes upon the margin in the strongest and best written characters which occur in his diary :

"21st May 1639, Tuesday. GENERAL LESLIE. This day General Leslie, Earl Rothes, and Lord Lindsay took journey to the boundrod."

The appointments and characteristics of this celebrated array have been often recorded. Suffice it here to give the Reverend Robert Baillie's description of himself, and of the so-called "army of God," to which he lent his personal assistance.*

"I furnished to half-a-dozen of good fellows muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broad-sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my

of rowat work all indentit ; with the brace, iron key, and gold string, gotten from Mr John Elles.

"20th May. *Little Carabin*. Given to my son Charles my little rowat carabin of mother o' pearl stock, to be usit by him when I have not ado therewith ; but to be ready when I call for it.

Contribution. Given to her† 5 rosnobles for the contribution to the common cause made by women.

"23d May. 2 *Pistols*. Coft from Andrew Anderson in Cowper, 2 pistols, and given therefor two double angels."

* He says, "I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service, *without return*. I found the favour of God shining upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me all along ; but I was no sooner on my way westward, after the conclusion of the peace, than my old security [*i. e.* his senses] returned." As for the sweet, meek, &c. spirit which carried him along, take the following specimen from the same letter : "They saw we were not to be boasted, and that before we would be roasted with a lent-fire by the hands of churchmen, who kept themselves far a-back from the flame, we were resolved to make about through the reek, to get a grip of some of these who had first kindled the fire, and still lent fuel to it, and *try if we could cast them in the midst of it*, to taste if that heat was pleasant when it came near their own shins."

† Whether by "her" the advocate means his lady, or one of those "serving maids who pulled down the bishops' pride," does not appear.

saddle, but, I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way ; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most cheerfully.”—“ Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed ;—true, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling in some quarters, whereat we were grieved ; but we hoped, if our camp had been a *little settled*, to have gotten some way for these misorders.” The camp was sufficiently settled, however, to take excellent order with their bodies, and Baillie does not forget the refreshment of another description, which he seems to have no less enjoyed. He descants with more than the genius of a hungry Scot upon the comparative merits of the sumptuous feasts of the English general and his own ; the fare, he says, at Leslie’s long side-table was “ as became a general in time of war, but not so *curious* by far as Arundel’s to our nobles.” And then, “ our meanest soldiers were always served in wheat-bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-leg ; which was a dainty world to the most of them.”*

Montrose was destined to reap his covenanting laurels elsewhere than with the army whose first movements we have just traced : having hurried back to the north to attack the barons who had defeated the Master of Forbes. Passing the Grampians, in his usual rapid style, he once more entered Aberdeen, on the 25th of May, at the head of about four thousand troops (the flower of which were the cavalry of Angus and Mearns), and followed by a train of thirteen field-pieces. “ He entered the town,” says Spalding, “ at the Over-kirk-gate Port, in order of battle, with sounding of trumpets, touking of drums, and displayed banners : they went down through the Broad-gate, through the Castle-gate, and to the Queen’s Links march they, where all the night they staid under straight watch.” Co-o-pe-

* Letters and Journals. Letter 11 ; dated Sept. 28, 1639.

rating with Montrose were the Earls of Marischal, Athol, and Kinghorn, the Lords Drummond, Couper, and Fraser, and the Masters of Forbes and Gray ; and on Monday the 27th he summoned a council of war to decide upon the fate of the prelatical towns. Bishop Guthry, in reference to these northern expeditions, says of Montrose, that "his generous mind was more eager for victory than execution," and that he resisted the urgent demands of the ministers, that Aberdeen should be given up to the horrors of indiscriminate plunder and conflagration. This account is fully corroborated by other contemporary notices. Even the "meek sweet spirit" of Baillie panted after the blood and ashes of the loyal north. The matter had been debated in council, and he insinuates that the soldiers of the Covenant fell off from their standard in consequence of the ill-timed humanity of Montrose. "Banff," he says, "dissolved his forces, Aberdeen rendered at once, all was carried before us. But ere it was long our forces likewise disbanded, as was thought on some malcontentment, either at *Montrose's too great lenity in sparing the enemy's houses*, or somewhat else." And this was his constant complaint of the earl while in arms on that side ; "the *discretion* of that generous and noble youth was but *too great*"—"all was forgiven to that *unnatural city*"—"fools not to disarm that country altogether, and use *some severity* for example among them ; they had no reason of complaining, but *greatly to commend our leader's courtesy*."

Having fined and lectured Aberdeen, but withal spared its inhabitants, the earl withdrew his troops on the morning of the 30th of May in order of battle, the infantry going first, followed by himself at the head of his cavalry. His intention, says James Gordon, "was to besiege the houses of the gentlemen of the name of Gordon ; for upon his appearance the barons were disbanded, and every one run a several way, so that Montrose could hardly tell where to find an enemy." That night he encamped at Udney, and marched from thence on the following day to Haddo House, or Kellie, belonging to Sir John Gordon. But he had determined not to commence operations

until he arrived at the castle of Sir George Gordon of Gight, in which that bold chief, aided by the determined spirit and practical skill of Lieutenant-colonel Johnston (son of the provost of Aberdeen), was so well fortified as to reject and defy the summons of his formidable pursuer. Unprovided with a battering train, Montrose turned his field-pieces against the edifice, and for two days and nights vainly essayed to effect a breach, when he learnt that a fleet, bearing Aboyne (whom his majesty had invested with the lieutenancy of the north) and a well appointed army, was about to arrive at Aberdeen. Never doubting that the royal lieutenant would be now, at least, most efficiently aided by the Marquis of Hamilton, and his own followers being diminished (according to Baillie's account, "on some malcontentment at his too great lenity"), our hero, aware of the danger of a superior force interposed between him and the Tables, fell back upon Aberdeen, which he again entered on Monday the 3d of June, by one of those rapid movements so characteristic of his whole career. He maintained his dignity as a conqueror, by remaining a whole day in that town, which he quitted shortly before Aboyne entered the harbour, and marched homewards in perfect order with his troops and artillery. On the way he paused a night at the castle of Dunnottar, where he was received by the Earl Marischal himself, who, with a few horse, had preceded him some days on the retreat.

Early in June, Aboyne appeared in the road of Aberdeen, with two armed vessels of sixteen guns each, and a Newcastle collier. He was accompanied by Ogilvy of Banff, Irving of Drum, and other loyalists, who had been lately compelled to seek safety in flight, but now returned with renewed hopes for the success of their cause. The Earl of Tullibardine also accompanied the young viscount; and, to the great annoyance of the insurgents and their reverend chronicler,* with

* "Glencairn, who unhappily all this time otherwise than his forbears, to the losing of the hearts of all his friends, for the marquis's pleasure, had deserted his country."—*BAILLIE, Let. 11.*

him came even Glencairn, the representative of the noblest and purest covenanting blood in Scotland, who, for some reason or other, refused to recognise the faction that now disgraced the cause of his fathers. And last, though not least, there was colonel, commonly called "Traitor Gun," one who had been a creature of Hamilton's, ever since the period of the marquis's memorable campaign with Gustavus Adolphus, and who, with a few officers and four field-pieces, was all the succour that was ever sent by him to Aboyne. For several days, the young lieutenant, having proclaimed his commission, continued on board, hoping to be joined by three thousand auxiliaries which Hamilton had given him some reason to expect. But these came not, and Glencairn and Tullibardine, apparently disheartened and disgusted at the aspect of affairs, took their leave and departed to their own homes. Thus was a young and inexperienced nobleman left to sustain the weighty burden of the royal cause in the north, and that with a less trusty military preceptor at his side than he whom the Covenanters attached to Montrose, on his second expedition to Aberdeen.

At this time our hero himself was not above twenty-seven years of age. His distinguished ally the Earl Marischal (Baillie calls them "these two noble valiant youths") was somewhat younger, being scarcely three and twenty. James Gordon, speaking of the latter in the year 1640, says that "he was not ill disposed if left to himself, and at this time too young to see the depth of these courses, that he was led upon by the wisdom of his cousin Argyle, though much against the liking of his mother, Lady Mary Erskine countess of Marischal, who laboured much, but in vain, to reclaim her son to the king's party." Then, on the other side, the loyal nobleman, whose duty it was to sustain the royal banner in the north, had seen but nineteen summers; and, as Glencairn and Tullibardine left him to his fate, there came to support that standard, now shaking in the youthful grasp of Aboyne, a hand less steady and a head less wise than his own. Lord Lewis Gordon, the

spoiled pet of his grandmother, a boy of thirteen, or little more, and the wildest and most wilful of his times, "hastily," says Spalding, "raises his father's ground, friends and followers, men, tenants and servants, who most gladly and willingly came with him, and upon Friday the 7th of June marched in brave order, about a thousand men on horse and foot, well armed, brave men, with captains, commanders, and leaders, trumpets, drums, and bagpipes, and to Aberdeen came they, to meet the Lord Aboyne, having also in their company four field-pieces of brass, which they brought with them out of Strathbogie." Such was the position of affairs when the viscount marched against Montrose early in the month of June 1639.

The three vessels which composed the fleet of Aboyne were ordered to sail along the coast, and attend the motions of the loyalists. The brass field-pieces, and most of the ammunition obtained from Hamilton, were put on board by Colonel Gun. The pretext was the difficulty of carriage; but the result was, that the wind shifting, the small squadron turned seawards, "nor did they ever see them again to this hour, so that cannon, and ammunition, and the three ships, all vanished together."* Scarcely was the march commenced, when intelligence arrived that Montrose had again collected his forces, and was already at Stonehaven on his way to meet them. Aboyne accordingly encamped that night at Muchalls, the residence of Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys, and sent forward a party of horse to within little more than a mile of the enemy's quarters, for the purpose of watching his motions. Meanwhile the latter, along with the Earl Marischal, was strongly intrenched before Dunnotter, with about eight hundred foot and horse, two brass demi-cannon, and some field-pieces, brought out of the castle, the gates of which were open to receive them on a retreat. They kept themselves quietly within their works at Stonehaven all night, without attempting to molest Aboyne's cavalry, which

* James Gordon's MS.

returned to the main body before sunrise. Early on the morning of Saturday, the loyalists marched forward in the direction of Fetteresso, till within a mile of Stonehaven, when Colonel Gun, in whose hands Aboyne had placed the command of his army, gave orders to turn off the high road towards a heath or moor, where he drew them up in battle array. The van, led by Sir John Gordon of Haddo, was composed of a volunteer corps of a hundred gentlemen, cuirassiers, "who for their colours carried a handkerchief upon a lance;" next came a regiment of musketeers, citizens of Aberdeen, about four hundred strong; in the rear were the Highlanders, and the cavalry were disposed on the flanks. Montrose, aware that Stonehaven was not tenable, had made arrangements to retreat into the adjoining stronghold; but, it is said, in order to gain time to reinforce his troops, he now sent to his antagonist "a letter by way of *complimenting* challenge," which had the effect of drawing that young nobleman still nearer the town upon a rising ground called the Meagre-hill, where his troops were again formed for action, though completely exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery. "Whether," adds James Gordon, "such a letter were ever sent or not, I could never learn, only this much I am sure of, that Aboyne, when his party had got orders to march towards Stonehaven, came himself, and told that Montrose had sent them a letter, which he told very cheerfully, and desired all to take courage." After a little skirmishing, in which his cavalry were driven back, Montrose sent a few cannon bullets into the midst of his brigades, which so alarmed the Highlanders that they wheeled about and fled in confusion, nor ever looked behind them (although Aboyne himself made every exertion to rally the fugitives) until they reached a morass about half a mile distant.* This example caused the whole of the royal

* The Highlanders, it seems, were totally unprepared for the extraordinary effect of a "dear Sandy's stoup." They had another name for it, no less expressive, as we learn from Baillie; who thus shortly notices the above events, in his correspondence with Spang: "So soon

infantry to mutiny, and march back to Aberdeen. On the morning of the 15th of June, the royal lieutenant was at the head of four thousand foot and horse ; "as gallant and resolute and well-appointed men," says James Gordon, "as were to be found in Scotland ;" and this in the face of an enemy not above eight hundred strong. On the morning of the 16th, he was again in Aberdeen with no more than six hundred horse, composed of the gallant Gordons, who still rallied round him, entreating him, however, as he valued the royal cause, to have nothing more to do with Colonel Gun. No one seems to have imputed this disaster (called the Raid of Stonehaven), to the conduct of Aboyne ; but such were their suspicion and dislike of Gun, that the royal standard was not now followed by a single foot regiment, while this military adviser obtained the title of the Traitor.

Montrose, with the prompt energy to which he owed his future successes, instantly determined to march once more upon Aberdeen. When within six miles of it, an advanced party of his cavalry encountered an equal number of the Gordons, whom Aboyne had despatched to watch the motions of the Covenanters. Being only seven on each side, there was something knightly and romantic in this encounter, wherein the Gordons were victors. After numerous wounds given and received, the earl's seven horsemen were defeated, and the Laird of Powrie Fotheringham made prisoner by Gordon of Fechill, and Ogilvy of Powrie, younger, wounded and taken by Na-

as Montrose had turned homewards to the Mearns, at once Aboyne and Banff, with Colonel Gun and some other officers, gathered great forces. Aberdeen joined heartily to the party. They spoiled Marischal's lands, and all our friends there. They had devoured Dundee and all Angus in the throat of their hope. But at once Montrose and Marischal, *most valorous and happy noblemen*, gave them some other matter to do, though much inferior in number. They came to seek them. Some great ordnance we had, which moved our party to hold off, when they were coming on hoping to have clean defeat us ; for their Highlanders avowed they could not abide *the musket's mother*, and so fled in troops at the first volley."—*Let.* 11.

thaniel Gordon, the future companion and fellow-martyr of Montrose. The conquering party was led upon this occasion by the gallant Colonel Johnston, who was most anxious to have returned to the charge with the whole chivalry of the Gordons, which he promised would utterly rout the combined forces of Montrose and Marischal. The result of his spirited advice was that obstinate defence of the bridge of Dee, which, according to the chronicles both of James and Patrick Gordon, was rendered abortive by the treachery of Gun.

After a severe struggle, Montrose forced the passage, an affair we need only shortly record in the words of Robert Baillie : “ At last, with some slaughter on both sides, we won the bridge ;—we put our enemy to rout—goes forward that same night to Aberdeen, lodges without in the fields, being resolved to-morrow to have sacked it orderly, that hereafter that town *should have done our nation no more cumber.*” But this thirsting for the utter destruction of that city had no place in the mind of the leader. It was the natural impulse of an excited and desultory army, and the unnatural, though too characteristic longing of a clergyman of the movement. “ But,” he adds, incoherently enough, “ as it *pleased God to keep us* from all marks of the least alleged cruelty from the first taking up of our arms, so there the preventing mercies of God did kythe* in a special manner ; for that same night, by sea, the king’s letters of pacification were brought to the town, which, to-morrow early, being presented to our nobles, made them glad they had got *that blessed cord to bind up their soldiers’ hands from doing of mischief*, whereto that wicked town’s *just deservings* had made them very bent ; for all *our sparing*, yet that country’s malicious disloyalty seems not to be remedied.”†

* i. e. was manifested.

† Baillie’s Letter to Spang, dated September 28, 1639. In the manuscript of James Gordon is the following account of the matter :—“ The Earl Marischal and Lord Muchalls pressed Montrose to burn the town, and urged him with the *Committee’s warrant* for that effect. He answered, that it was best to advise a night upon it, since Aber-

Bishop Guthry records that Montrose disbanded his forces in Angus, and retired to his own house, expecting that Lealie and his council would have sent for him to come and take command of his regiment, and that, as they neglected to do so, he remained at Old Montrose until the return of the army.*

deen was the London of the North, and the want of it would prejudice themselves. It was taken to consideration for that night, and next day the Earl Marischal and Lord Muchalls came protesting he should spare it. He answered he was desirous so to do, but durst not, except they would be his warrant. Whereupon they drew up a paper, signed with both their hands, declaring that they had hindered it, and promising to interpose with the Committee of Estates for him. Yet the next year, when he was made prisoner and accused, this was objected to Montrose, *that he had not burned Aberdeen, as he had orders from the Committee of Estates.* Then he produced Marischal and Muchalls' paper, which hardly satisfied the exasperated committee."

* Baillie, when referring to the treaty of Berwick in his letter to Spang, writes, that "Montrose and Marischal did post to Dunse to have their part of the joy, *as well they did deserve*, in the common peace, where they were made most welcome both to their comrades and to their king." Probably, however, this was not until July, after the pacification, when the king sent for him to Berwick.

CHAPTER V.

Negotiations preliminary to the Pacification of Berwick—Extracts from the Lord Advocate's Diary of the Progress of the Treaty—Riots in Edinburgh renewed after the Pacification—Montrose's first Interview with the King—Assembly and Parliament of 1639—Montrose opposes the Attacks upon the Prerogative—Baillie's Account of the State of public Opinion—His Views of the Abjuration of Episcopacy contrasted with those entertained by the Lord Advocate—Extracts from the Advocate's Diary on the Subject—Note of the Advocate's Conversation with Rothes on the Subject of the Movement—Parliament of 1640—The Advocate confined to his House of Craighall by Command of his Majesty—Is released in order to attend the Parliament for his Majesty's Interest—Montrose's continued Opposition to the democratic Measures of the Parliament—Is appointed to a Command in the Covenanting Army of 1640—The Advocate records a Vow to further its Success—Montrose's Determination to thwart its Object—History of Montrose's increasing Alarm for the Monarchy—Discovers an Intention of creating Argyle Dictator in Scotland—Montrose's Conservative Bond at Cumbernauld—Covenanting Army crosses Tweed and takes Newcastle—Private Intrigues of the Leaders of the Covenant—Montrose writes to the King—His conservative Attempts discovered and frustrated—The precise Nature of his Counterplot against the Covenant and of his Correspondence with the King illustrated from Lord Napier's Manuscripts.

SHORTLY before Montrose returned from the north, his friend Lord Napier had been again exerting himself to bring matters to an amicable conclusion, in the manner most likely to conciliate the affections of the king towards his native subjects. He had only so far succeeded, however, as to obtain instructions, signed by Lords Balmerino and Forrester, and a few of the commissioners of the shires and burghs, dated on the

last day of May 1639, and addressed to himself and Gibson of Durie, requesting them to go on board the admiral's ship in the roads, and to tell the Marquis of Hamilton, "That we humbly desire his grace to go in person to Berwick to the king's majesty to mediate some accommodation and prevention of those evils likely to ensue upon these unkindly wars, which being once begun, as they are too far advanced, will not so soon be quieted." * But although Napier had first suggested the plan of a loyal deputation to the sovereign at the Borders, he was not one of the commissioners now sent to meet him at Berwick. Those employed in this mission were the dissentients among the noblemen who met with the Lords of Council and Session on the 12th of April, namely, Rothes and Loudon; with whom were joined Sir William Douglas of Cavers, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Johnston. The result was that celebrated conference, between his majesty and the Covenanters, held in the Earl of Arundel's tent,—a dramatic scene, of which the particulars have been well illustrated by Mr D'Israeli.† It will be seen, from Sir Thomas Hope's record of what passed at the meeting in April, that Rothes was greatly alarmed at the idea of any deputation of moderate, rational, and sincerely patriotic Presbyterians meeting with the king at this crisis. And so it happened that upon himself devolved the duty of holding a personal interview with Charles, conducted on the part of his majesty in a manner which needs no higher praise than the memorable commendation it elicited from the pen of Principal Baillie: "It is likely his majesty's ears had never been tickled with such discourses, yet he was most patient of them all, and loving of clear reason."—"His majesty was ever the longer the better loved by all who heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they had ever seen." ‡

* Original Paper of Instructions in the Napier charter-chest.

† Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 45-53.

‡ Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. 180.

The details of this conversation (taken down at the time, and sent by the Earl of Arundel to Laud), in which the enlightened and gentle reasoning of Charles so admirably triumphed over the half-crouching, half-dogged "patriotism" of Rothes, will be found in the Commentaries of D'Israeli. But the fact appears not in history that Sir Thomas Hope had also joined the king at these conferences, and had been admitted besides to various private interviews. The advocate's diary of these events is so characteristic of the times, and of the career of the faction, that I must again draw upon that curious record in illustration of a crisis which concluded the covenanting politics of Montrose.

"*Words heard*, 3.* 29th May 1639, Edinburgh. About midnight, as I was regretting to the Lord the calamities of his kirk, and humbly praying his Majesty to arise to the help thereof, and with tears begging till I became drowsy, I heard these words,—'*I will arise*;' and within half hour the horn blew with a packet. Item, I went away toward Haddington to meet with the Earl of Rothes,† but he was gone to Dunbar; whereupon I went to Beall, where I staid till 6th June. And on 6th June, being Thursday, I went by Lammermuir toward Berwick by the convoy of one William Wauchop; and came about twelve hours of the day to Foulden, where I was most courteously entertained by John Wilkie and his lady, and abode with them till 20th June, at which time I returned to Edinburgh.

"On Friday 7th June I kissed his majesty's hand, and

* These numbers seem to apply to the number of times the supernatural event had occurred to Sir Thomas.

† A month previous to this, the advocate notes that he received a letter from the king on the last day of April 1639, dated at York 27th April, commanding him to court; but he did not go at that time, though he assigns no reason. Perhaps he thought his majesty too dangerous at the moment, for he immediately adds:—

"Item, that day heard that the Lord Say and Lord Brook, English lords, were put in prison at York, as suspected to be intelligencers to the Scottish noblemen."

had conference with his majesty on Monday the 10th, and on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, as my note thereupon will testify.*

“ Words heard, 4. On 8th June, lying in my bed betwixt 1 and 2 in the morning, I was pouring forth my heart to the Lord, and in so great necessity, *being to speak with the king,* I said, ‘my Lord, will not thy Majesty help and assist me!’ And I heard a voice saying, ‘*I will, doubt not.*’

“ Words, 5. Item, at Foulden on 14th June, which was Friday, 1639, being anxious in spirit for the event and success of God’s cause, I heard this voice, ‘*Let me work it.*’

“ Item, on Saturday the 15th June the articles were presented, and the noblemen got a kiss of his majesty’s hand.

“ Words, 6. Item, at Foulden 16th June 1639, being Sunday, I being pressing the Lord *for the good king,* and humbly praying for the accomplishment of God’s work, I heard this voice, ‘*I have done it.*’

“ Item, on Tuesday 18th June the articles of peace were subscribed.

“ Vow to my good God. Item, this day in the morning, I being in a deep meditation of God’s favour to the public good for his kirk, and in it to me his poor servant, I vowed to my Lord (in respect of the great temptations offered to me by calamities,† and otherwise by some of my own whom I name not), I vowed, I say, to restrain my sudden passion, and to compose my mind by God’s grace to patience and equanimity, and to remit all to the Lord, which I pray God I may keep.

“ 20th June 1639. On Thursday 20th June, I came from Foulden about 5 in the morning, and came to Edinburgh about 4 afternoon.

“ Vows. On Sunday 23d June 1639 I remembered the holy vows and promises to my Lord for adhering to his truth

* This refers to a separate note not recovered.

† The advocate had little to complain of in that way. He and all his sons were most prosperous.

and purity thereof. And in respect of his Majesty's gracious assistance of me, when I was before the king's majesty, according to his sweet* promises and assurances given to me, I renewed my vows and promise to his grace to follow forth the Covenant of his blessed truth, and therewith to walk in charity, sobriety, and all other Christian virtues, and to moderate those affections and passions of impatience, anger, and others of that kind, which is one of my greatest temptations in body and mind, and to remit all to the grace of my Lord, to strengthen me against these infirmities, and to keep me in the moderate use of those things which otherwise are lawful, but not expedient for this time of trial. The Lord perform what he has made me promise.

"*Renewing.* On Sunday last, June 1639, a holy renewing of my vows to my Lord, which I put on his Majesty's grace and strength, without which I am not able to perform the same."

After the pacification of Berwick, "those that loved peace," says Bishop Guthry, "were filled with hope that our troubles were ended; but that was soon checked by an accident which fell out upon the 2d of July, and imported that the Covenanters meant not to sist there; for that day the Lord-treasurer, with my Lord Kinnoull and General Ruthven, coming in coach from the castle through the High Street of Edinburgh, the devout wives, who at first put life in the cause, did now, when it was in danger to be buried, restore it again, by invading them and throwing stones at them. That this breach of the pacification had private allowance few doubted, in that those women used not to run unsent."

* A curious characteristic of fanatical phraseology is the frequent use and incongruous application of the word "sweet." Wodrow, in his complimentary portraiture of the retributive exit of Archibald Johnston (a sour and dishonest demagogue, who died in an agony of terror), says, "After he had taken his leave of his friends [on the scaffold] he prayed again in a perfect rapture, being now near the end of that *sweet* work he had been so much employed about through his life, and felt so much *sweetness* in."

This assertion might pass for a party calumny were it not so substantially corroborated by that anonymous letter, addressed to the Procurator of the Kirk, in which it is recommended secretly to organize some such tumults against the bishops, "that, in a private way, some course may be taken for their terror and disgrace if they offer to show themselves publicly." The particulars of this commotion are given by Baillie, in a letter to Spang, dated 28th September 1639, in these words:—"The people of Edinburgh, being provoked by the insolent and triumphant behaviour of that unhappy spark, Aboyne,—who, yet reeking from our blood in the north, would rattle in his open coach through their causey,—made an onset upon him, and well near had done him violence." Such was the shape in which events of the kind were usually recorded by this author, the Clarendon of the Covenant. The same clergyman who condemns Montrose for not giving up Aberdeen to fire and sword, speaks of the conquered Aboyne, who can scarcely be said to have drawn blood at all, as one "reeking from *our* blood in the north," and justifies the attempt upon his life by what he calls the provocation, to the people of Edinburgh, in the circumstance of his driving in his carriage through their streets, after all parties were apparently reconciled by the pacification. The diary of his majesty's advocate does not confirm the view which the principal has taken of this incident. Sir Thomas states, that upon the 1st of July 1639 there was a great meeting of the council, when the assembly was indicted for the 12th of August, and that when it was proclaimed, "the noblemen protested against the naming of archbishops and bishops." Immediately follows, and without further comment:—"On 3d July, Wednesday, was the *tumult of women* in Edinburgh, who invaded the Lord-treasurer, Earl Kinnoull, and Lord Aboyne, in their coaches."

The king had intended to hold this conciliatory parliament and assembly in person. Early in July, says the advocate, "These three noblemen, viz. Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Lindsay, and Lord Loudon, went to his majesty to give

answer to some articles ; but his majesty desired others to come to court, whereof the Earl of Rothes, Earl of Montrose, Earl of Lothian, were those who went, about the 18th July, and returned (about the 24th) to fetch with them the remainder." When these powerful nobles were with the king, he commanded them to send instantly for Argyle, Cassilis, Lindsay, Loudon, and the rest of the most forward of the popular faction. These, says Guthry, accordingly "prepared as if they intended to go, but had it so contrived, that when they came to the Watergate to take horse, multitudes were convened there to stop them, upon pretence that if they went they would be detained. And so it resolved in this, that the Lord Loudon should write an excuse to the king, which came to his hand the nineteenth day, but was not well taken. Upon the morrow, those that were already with the king obtained dismissal, upon promise that they should return and bring up the rest with them." Charles was so annoyed by these proceedings as to forego his intention of holding the parliament of Scotland in person. "This day, 26th July 1639," notes the advocate, "word came that his majesty resolved suddenly to go to London, and to journey on Monday the 29th July." The king himself, in his Declaration published in the following year, states the reason. "One of the greatest discouragements we had from going thither was the refusal of such lords, and others of that nation, whom we sent for to come to us to Berwick, by which disobedience they manifestly discovered their distrust of us ; and it cannot be thought reasonable that we should trust our person with those, that distrusted us, after so many arguments and assurances of our goodness toward them."

This was the crisis at which Montrose began to evince that respect for the sovereign and his prerogatives which soon placed him in decided opposition to the Covenant. It would be a poor defence, for him who laid down his life for his loyalty, to say that he was unmoved by his interview at Berwick with Charles, whose kingly presence and noble

aspect were never so imposing as when he was beset by difficulties and danger. The monarch, too, may have desired to reclaim Montrose. Struck by his stately and gentle bearing, contrasted with the disrespectful levity of Rothes, and the repulsive democracy of Archibald Johnston, and, perhaps, favourably impressed by the forbearance which, contrary to the wish of the covenanting clergy, he had exercised even in rebellion, Charles, in the words of his favourite poet, may have inwardly exclaimed at the sight of him,—

——— O, for a falconer's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again !

and the accomplished king had indeed a falconer's voice for such a "tassel-gentle." It may be conceded, then, that he felt his heart yearn towards his sovereign, and that he departed from that interview under feelings of admiration mingled with reverence. But there were other and more substantial reasons for his growing opposition to the Covenant, which must now be related.

The General Assembly of 1639 met on the 12th of August,* the Earl of Traquair being commissioner. All the irrational accusations, confounding Episcopacy with Popery, were now more boldly stated and vehemently pressed. Upon this occasion the original demands of the Presbyterians were far exceeded. Prelacy was formally condemned as unlawful, and contrary to the word of God. Not only was King James's establishment of the church overturned, but there was then forced upon the commissioner, and upon the privy-council, an ordinance for imposing the Covenant, which the best historian of the Church of Scotland condemns as an act to be "abhorred," as "a deviation from the tolerant spirit of pure religion," as, "in fact, an engine of severe persecution."† The parliament, which was expected to ratify these proceedings, met on the 31st of the same month. The exclusion of

* Sir Thomas Hope's Diary.

† Cook, vol. ii. pp. 501, 502.

the bishops had expunged one of the estates of the kingdom, and the whole frame of the legislature was consequently deranged. A crisis so violent could not fail to open the eyes of many. Moreover, a most determined attack was now made upon the prerogatives of the crown ; and this was the circumstance which attracted the attention of Montrose and arrested his progress in that downward path. The control of the mint,—the command of the strongholds,—the dispensing of honours, offices of state, and jurisdictions,—the regulating precedency,—all these, it was now proposed, should be transferred as privileges to the parliament.

Such was the state of matters to which Bishop Guthry alludes when, in reference to this parliament, he says, “ The leaders of the cause had farther projects, and, instead of rising, proposed a number of new motions concerning the constitution of parliaments, and other things never treated on before, whereanent the commissioner told them he had no instructions. Montrose *argued somewhat against those motions* ; for which the zealots became *suspicious* of him, that the King had turned him at his being with his majesty at Berwick ; yet they seemed to take little notice thereof ; only the vulgar, whom they used to hound out, whispered in the streets to his prejudice ; and the next morning he found affixed upon his chamber door a paper, with these words written in it : *Invictus armis, verbis vincitur.*”

This mode of conveying the calumny was a compliment to the valour and accomplishments of the earl ; and whoever may have affixed it to his door, the mode of reproof, it is clear, was no conception of the vulgar.

Baillie, in a letter dated 12th October 1639, being the second month of the parliament in which Montrose argued against democratic measures, points not to him alone, but, according to his peculiar view of the matter, to many others who were now beginning to waver in their course. “ Division,” he says,—for the most rational opposition to the movement was stigmatized as a treacherous division,—“ is much laboured

for in all our estate. They speak of too great prevailing with our nobles. Hume evidently fallen off. Montrose not unlikely to be ensnared with the fair promises of advancement. Marischal, Sutherland, and others, somewhat doubted. Sheriff of Teviotdale, and some of the barons, inclining the court way. Divisions betwixt the merchants and crafts of Edinburgh,—and so, by consequence, of all the burghs of Scotland,—carefully fostered by our commissioner. Our prime clergy like to fall foul upon the question of our new private meetings.”* The Lord Advocate himself was startled and shocked, as will presently be seen, by indications on the part of Rothes, that he was to rest satisfied with the uprooting of Episcopacy, only in so far as that revolutionary agitation assisted his private schemes of ambition, avarice, or revenge.

Yet Sir Thomas Hope went even beyond Baillie in his enmity to prelatical rule. Nor is this to be wondered at; for perhaps ever since the year 1606, when he defended the presbyterian ministers, he had really persuaded himself that he was in direct communication with the Almighty, at least in regard to all matters which concerned the establishment of Sir Thomas’s chosen model of the church. Judging from the manner in which he has noted the triumph of the assembly of 1639, which took upon itself to determine that Episcopacy was a sin in the sight of God, even the zealous principal would have been excluded from the advocate’s category of salvation.†

* Such in 1639 was the state of what has been called “the grand national movement.”

† Baillie’s conscience, as appears by his letters, was very troublesome to him on the subject of “the abjuration of all kind of Episcopacy.” “But withal,” he says, “I heartily wished, that in the act of removal of it, no clause might be put which might oblige us in conscience to count that for wicked and unlawful in itself, which the whole reformed churches this day, and, so far as I know, all the famous and classic divines that ever put pen to paper, either of old or late, absolved of *unlawfulness*.”—*Letters and Journals*, vol. i. p. 130. Yet Charles has been accused of an insidious reservation of the whole question, because he took this very objection to the terms of the covenanting abjuration of 1639, namely, the word *unlawful*.

"17th August 1639, Saturday.—This day the assembly, which began at Edinburgh on Monday the 12th August, closed the point of Episcopacy, and declared it *unlawful* and *contrary to God's word*; to the unspeakable joy of all them that seek the Lord, and wait for his salvation."

Traquair, the royal commissioner, who had been more rationally instructed on this subject by the truly Christian king, was authorized to permit the rejection of Episcopacy as contrary to the Scottish constitution. But he was desired not to countenance such a sweeping condemnation of it, as would implicate his majesty in that intolerant abjuration which aimed a vital blow at the Church of England, and did violence to the conscience of every Christian in his dominions who happened to be without the circle of those few enthusiasts, whom Sir Thomas Hope was pleased to characterize as being "all them that seek the Lord, and wait for his salvation." But the commissioner had not the firmness or the skill to manage that assembly; and it rose triumphant, for Traquair himself had signed that act. He was immediately sensible of his error, and, during the parliament which followed, wrote anxiously to the Marquis of Hamilton for instructions from his majesty. Had the rejection of Episcopacy been placed upon the fair and rational footing which Baillie himself desired, Charles would not have hesitated to ratify the deed. But, Hamilton (in a letter received by Traquair in the month of October 1639) says, "I cannot omit to tell you that the word *unlawful* has infinitely distressed his majesty, as you will find by his own, and you will do well to think how to relieve it."* The commissioner could find no remedy but in repeated prorogations; and it is curious to observe how the mind of the advocate was affected by this demur to ratify acts which did violence to the justice and the conscience of his royal master.

* Orig. printed by Dr Aiton, in his life of Henderson, with some other curious letters from Hamilton to the commissioner, in the archives of Traquair House.

" *Words heard.*—22d September 1639, Sunday.—This day, about three in the morning, I calling to mind the cross proceedings in parliament, (whereof I have a large journal every day since it sat down),* and the difficult and hard estate wherein the kirk and kingdom stand, did pour furth my heart in prayers and tears to the Lord ; and, betwixt the fear of judgment for sin, and the expectation of God's mercy, in respect of the glorious work already done by the Lord in his kirk, and just falling in a slumbering, I heard these words,— '*My work is a perfect work.*' The Lord perfect it. And upon the morrow, being Monday 23d September, betwixt four and five in the morning, I being regretting the great difficulties of the ratification of God's truth by the parliament, by reason of the questions moved by the barons anent the three estates, these words came to me,— '*I will do it in my own way.*' For which I blessed the Lord, and believe that the Lord will do it in his own glorious way."

Upon the 22d of November, Traquair took journey to court ; and upon the 23d the estates sent off their "supplication." Upon Sunday the 24th, after sermon, the Countess of Mar and the Earl of Rothes came to visit the advocate's daughter, Mary (who had recently given birth to a son), and adds Sir Thomas, "The earl spoke these words to me,—that the commissioner had perverted me."†

* This journal is not known to be extant.

† This allusion is explained by the advocate's Diary of what had passed upon Wednesday 16th of October 1639.

" This day I went to the abbey, at seven hours in the morning, and then the commissioner asked my opinion anent the act of Mensal Kirks, which I told in presence of Sir Lues Stewart, and reported to the Marquis of Huntly first, and then to the Lord Privy Seal. But when the matter was brought in dispute, this day before noon, and the moderator and commissioners of the kirk being present in a very great number, the Treasurer, without any occasion offered by me, broke out violently in these speeches, after I had reasoned the matter exactly for his majesty. ' Begod this man cares not what he speaks ; for he speaks one thing to me privately, and even now in my ear, and another thing publicly,—he is so impudent.' Whereanent I made answer, and ap-

It was the object of Rothes to exasperate the Lord Advocate, and to secure his powerful aid to the continued impulse of the movement, under whatever circumstances, or in furtherance of whatever private ends, it might be directed. Sir Thomas was supposed to have latterly evinced too little cordiality towards the latent objects of the present government of Scotland. He even showed symptoms of an inclination to limit his patriotic demands against the throne ; desiring no more than that his majesty should ratify the acts, and acknowledge the legality of the assemblies 1638 and 1639. This, no doubt, was a sufficiently violent extension of the original demands of the faction. But even this limit was rejected by those leaders of the Covenant, who, though few in number, are too frequently taken to represent the national feeling on the subject, simply because they held in their hands the springs of government, by commanding the consciences of the people through the agitations of the clergy.

Upon Tuesday the 14th of January, the advocate notes, that, between eight and nine in the morning, the Earl of Rothes entered his chamber, who, after telling him that he had received a letter in favour of an individual named George Cumming, pursued as a criminal, thus proceeded to what appears to have been the main object of the visit.

“ And thereafter he [Rothes] showed me a trinkett of paper, (which he said he had drawn furth of a letter from England, from a good hand), which he read to this sence : ‘ I am sorry

pealed to Sir Lues Stewart, who heard me in the morning, and also to the Lord Privy Seal and Marquis of Huntly, who supervened after. 17th October, I gave in my petition to the Lord Commissioner, and articles, desiring Sir Lues Stewart, and the Lord Privy Seal, and Marquis, to be heard to declare ; which petition was read, but refused to give answer to it, and taken up by him, and put in his pocket ; and with this he set out in the railing speeches contained in paper apart.”

I have not discovered any other record of this collision. The advocate mentions that he sent an account of the matter, with a copy of his petition, to the secretary and his own son at court, and also addressed a letter to his majesty on the subject.

to write that there is a slap to come on the advocate like as came the last year upon the Earl of Argyle, to draw up *super inquirendis*,* and therefore if you have any interest in him, bid him beware of himself.'

"My answer was:—'My lord, I care for nothing. I rest upon the Lord. Only I wish that God direct you who are noblemen, and that ye, on oath, seek the main point,—which is, *God's truth to be ratified*,—and let the rest go in as God pleases.'

"He subjoined: 'That cringer, the Treasurer,† has so calumniated the whole estates to his majesty, that *albeit his majesty would ratify all the acts*, we will not close till we get justice upon the traitor: And if we get justice we shall raze him out of the earth; and if it be denied, and there be war,

* "Super Inquirendis" may be illustrated by the following dialogue, left in manuscript by Lord Napier, and which he held with Charles I. in the year 1630. His majesty had required certain noblemen at court, who pretended to have grounds of impeachment against Napier, to put their accusations in writing under their hands, and send them to his lordship to be answered. "When I opened the articles of accusation," says Napier, "I found no hand at them, but written on a little piece of paper, so near the end thereof as not one letter could be written more, of purpose that, if the king should urge them to set to their hands upon a sudden, they might gain some time in writing them over, to consult upon the matter. I presently drew up the answers, and on the morrow, I told his majesty that I had received these articles, and that there was no hand at them.

THE KING.—"That is all one; you know the matter now, and may answer it.'

NAPIER.—"Sir, there is no judicature, civil nor criminal, can be established without these necessary members, a judge, a pursuer, and a defender. True it is, in Scotland, in the factious times, men were called in without knowing either crime or pursuer, which they called *super inquirendis*; but that barbarous and unjust custom was abolished by your majesty's father, by an express act of parliament yet standing in force. I hope your majesty will not introduce it again, and make me the precedent of it.

THE KING.—"If it be so, they *must* set to their hands, and *shall* set to their hands.'"—*Orig. MS. Napier charter-chest.*

† Traquair.

we shall sweep his memory furth of the land, and ye shall be fully revenged upon him.'

"I answered: 'My lord, for God's cause let not revenge against him move you to neglect God's cause; and, for my revenge, I leave it to God.'

"He answered: 'We have got full intelligence that the king will never give up bishops, but will have them in again.'

"I answered: 'My lord, let no reports move you, but do your duty. Put his majesty to it, and if it be refused, then you are wytless [blameless]. But if, on these reports, ye press *civil* points, his majesty will make all protestant princes see that you have not religion for your end, but the *bearing down of monarchy*.'*

"With this I convoyed him to the yett [gate], and I said, —'For God his cause, my lord, have a care for ratifying religion;† and let me be put to an essay in that, and ye shall see what I shall do or suffer for it.'

"He answered: 'We never doubted of you in that; but ye have been *far out of the way*, this time by-gone, and we had never a thought to do you wrong.'

"I answered: 'I am more moved by one of your hard words, nor [than] with all the prejudice can be done to me; and for *civil* points, *look never to have me to go with you*.'"

There can be little doubt, from this passage of secret history, if such evidence were required, that Rothes's agitation of the country, on the subject of religion and liberties, was a dishonest one, and that even Sir Thomas Hope had become more or less sensible of the real motives and objects of a few noblemen, in whose hands were the present movement, and the future character and credit of the nation. Baillie himself, before the Covenant was signed, had no slight misgivings that he was

* This shows the opinion of the advocate to have been that Rothes's alleged "full intelligence," as to the covert intentions of the king, was a mere pretext.

† The Lord Advocate identified the acts of the General Assembly against Episcopacy with religion.

embarked with a party who could not tell where they were to stop.*

We have traced the precise period when Montrose first made a stand against the party he had joined. It was in the parliament of 1639, which was appointed to meet again in the month of June 1640. Traquair was commissioned under the great seal to hold the new session. Another commission, under the quarter seal, was at the same time issued to Lord Elphinstone, Lord Napier, the Lord Justice-Clerk, and the Lord Advocate, by which any three of them were empowered to act in his absence, but (as the commission bore) upon his order. Hope had been placed under confinement in his own house of Craighall, "upon pretence (says Burnet) of some petty malversation in his office, but really because of his adhering to the Covenanters too much."† When this diet of parliament ar-

* See his letter to Spang, dated 27th February 1638.

† There is an entry in the advocate's Diary relative to this circumstance immediately after the note of his conversation with Rothes, and of the same date. The manner of the entry proves that there was on the advocate's conscience no "petty malversation."

"14th January 1640, Tuesday.—This day about 6 at night, I received his majesty's letter for confining in Craighall, by reason of the story of James Grant's remission, and of the other remission to one John Stewart. Upon the receipt whereof I addressed myself to Craighall. His majesty's letter is dated at Whitehall, 4 January 1640. I was in Burntisland at night on Thursday the 16th of January. I came to Craighall on Friday the 17th of January about 12 hours. My wife with the two young bairns came to Craighall on Friday the 14th of February, and went back on Monday the 17th of February. Item, on Monday the 23d of February she, with all the rest of my family, came to Craighall."

"16th March 1640, Monday.—This day sent letters to the Laird Panmure, and my son Mr Alexander, anent the quitting of my place, &c., and these sent to Edin'. this day in company of my son Craighall, who went to Edin'. with his bedfellow, upon a letter from the Lords of Session. Item, this day put ane pea in my right arm, whereof the cancer was put in by Dr Balfour and William Fairn, on Monday 2d of March (at Craighall) of before. Item, at this time sure word came of the death of the Earl of Stirling."

In this philosophical manner the advocate endures his rustication,

rived, however, as Scotland was now in open rebellion, and Traquair had been nearly murdered in the streets of Edinburgh when last there, Charles did not choose to send his commissioner to incur the risk of having "his memory swept furth of the land;" but he forwarded an order to the justice-clerk to take the advocate along with him and prorogue the parliament, in virtue of the sub-commission. Burnet says that Sir Thomas Hope "was glad both of being delivered from his disgrace, and for being honoured with the employment;" and that, when the parliament met, he moved Lord Elphinstone, as first-named in the commission, to go up with him to the throne and execute the king's command. This nobleman required to see Traquair's order to that effect; Hope urged his majesty's order as paramount, but the other would not depart from the literal import of his instructions. The advocate then turned to Lord Napier, but he too declined to act, except in terms of the royal authority. So the Covenanters, under the pretext that, as Sir Thomas expresses it, "the parliament could not be prorogued for want of commissioners," elected Lord Burleigh as their president,—and proceeded in the work of demolition.

The only nobleman who appears to have opposed, with spirit and determination, the assumed powers of this extraordinary

without further allusion to the cause of it. On the 17th of May he notes :

"Sunday, at 2 hours afternoon, good Elizabeth Nicholson deceased, and left me the only living of the stock of John Hope my guidschir in the degree of third from him. The Lord prepare me."

Then immediately follows :—

"28th May, Thursday, at 9 of night, James Philip brought me the king's majesty's letter, commanding me to repair to Edinburgh, and I went on Saturday 30th May."

"1 June 1640, Monday.—The parliament could not be prorogued for want of commissioners, and the estates sat from 2d June to 11th June inclusive. On 12th June they entered to batter the Castle of Edinburgh, and I returned to Craighall."

The advocate is very reserved on the subject of the parliament 1640.

meeting, was Montrose himself. There is no record of the harangues that were uttered in those revolutionary conventions; but, fortunately, an original letter is preserved, which casts some light upon our hero's present position. In the following year, when the Procurator of the Kirk, Archibald Johnston, was in London with the commissioners for the treaty of 1641, he wrote privately to a select few in Edinburgh, that they should be prepared with some prosecution against the earl, who he heard was to be the mover of an impeachment, understood to be impending over certain individuals of the covenanting clique. He further states his suspicion, that the accusation rested upon the speeches that passed at the debate on the meeting of the parliament in June 1640, and he reminds his correspondents, that, upon the occasion now mentioned, "*Montrose did dispute against Argyle, Rothes, Balmerino, and myself* ; because some urged that as long as *we had a king*, we could not sit without him ; and it was answered that to do the less was more lawful than to do the greater."* The meaning here is not very fully or explicitly stated ; but, taking the remark in connexion with a charge preferred against Argyle in reference to the same occasion (a mysterious story to be afterwards noticed), there can scarcely be any doubt that it contains a very cautious and subdued reference to certain treasonable expressions and propositions which had occurred at this convention. The whole revolutionary plan of the previous parliament was here accomplished, and various acts were passed, and forced upon all, the manifest object of which was to fortify the party who were urging on the rebellion. The conservative feelings of Montrose and a few others were altogether powerless to arrest the development of the "cloud in the north." They were induced, or rather compelled, to subscribe with the rest its unauthorized proceedings, in the vain hope that here was the utmost limit of the movement, and that, by giving way to the pressure now, they were

* Original Letter, dated April 1641.

preserving themselves to be of use to the king in future. Nay, by a master-stroke of policy on the part of the rebellious leaders, they were even put upon the great committee to which this parliament gave birth.*

The new army of the Covenant was assembled in the month of July 1640, and General Leslie, so invaluable to the cause, again found himself at the head of that motley host of black gowns and blue bonnets, which composed the ranks of the kirk militant. Sir Thomas Hope appears to have been deeply impressed with the idea that the Almighty himself watched over the progress of that assemblage, as his chosen instrument for converting both kingdoms from the dominion of Satan. He notes that, upon Monday the 20th July, the army marched out of Edinburgh; that in it were his two sons, and his son-in-law Cambuskenneth; and that, upon this solemn occasion, he, having promised to recommend them to God, had made a vow before Him, upon the 17th and 19th of July, to restrain himself from enjoyments, otherwise lawful, except in so far as necessary for the preservation of his health, and to humble himself in devotions three times a-day, morning, noon, and night, for the success of God's cause.†

Montrose took a different view of the merits and probable results of that expedition, and in following it out he was fully as conscientious as the advocate. Although his opposition to

* When giving the history of the constitution of this committee, James Gordon says, "It was a mixed multitude, many heads here, but few statesmen, though all nominated to sit at the helm. Some of these were known to favour the king, yet were nominated either to unmask them, or to debauch them by their concurrence against him."
—*MS. Hist.*

† The advocate's eldest son, Lord Craighall, was chosen president of the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh. His two sons with the army were Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, who commanded "the College of Justice troop," and either James, who became Sir James Hope of Hopetoun, or Charles, at this time a boy, and who died young. Another son, formerly mentioned, Sir Alexander Hope of Grantoun, was constantly about the person of his majesty, in the quality of royal carver extraordinary.

the headlong career of the dominant Covenanters had been openly declared in parliament, he was appointed to a considerable command in this army,—a measure which the violent party had yet no sufficient pretext for avoiding, and of which he determined to make the most, in defence of those sovereign rights which he now clearly saw were recklessly invaded for private ends, by what he termed “the particular and indirect practising of a few.” The meaning of these expressions will presently appear.

About the end of the month just specified, Montrose being with the army (which lay encamped near Dunse, apparently in doubt whether to venture across the Borders), there was privately presented to him for his signature a bond, the object of which was to establish a military despotism in all the counties northward of the Forth. The history of this deed, which he declared he would rather die than subscribe, appears to be as follows: At the time when he was preparing for his last expedition against Aberdeen in 1639, a commission was secretly drawn up under the influence of Argyle, by which the country was to be cantoned, and all the districts beyond the river now named placed under the control of that nobleman. There was present at the framing of this obligation Archibald Campbell the confidential agent of his chief, but who had been an old and intimate friend of Lord Napier, and probably of his ward. This gentleman started an objection to the terms of the contract, because it did not include Montrose, although so materially affecting the districts in which his property and interests lay. The paper accordingly was written over again, and his name inserted, as one of a committee to be associated with the captain-general be-north the Forth, or in other words, with Argyle himself.*

* Certain depositions upon oath were taken by the committee of estates in the month of June 1641, with a view to the “processing” of Montrose. Mr Robert Murray, the minister of Methven, deponed, That Montrose had declared to him, that “there was a bond drawn up, and offered to be subscribed, for establishing a particular man be-

Montrose immediately perceived that the object was, while the army proceeded on its perilous adventure against England, to bring the whole of the north and west of Scotland under the sway of Argyle, a measure to which the sanction of the Estates, and if possible his own signature, was to be obtained. Alarmed at this proceeding, which he could connect with what had transpired in the parliament held in June, he quitted the army at Dunse, and hastened to Edinburgh. No sooner had he arrived there than his worst suspicions were confirmed by the following conversation which he held with Lord Lindsay, a keen Covenanter, and a brother-in-law of Hamilton.

When they met, the earl inquired as to the state of affairs since the army had marched to the Borders, and also expressed his regret at the condition of the country, "and that some were crying up the Earl of Argyle too much." Lindsay replied, that he had been engaged in no public business for some little time past, but was lately conversing with some one who had expressed the same regrets now uttered by Montrose, as to the state of the kingdom. "One grief expressed," continued he, "was a regret of the divisions and jealousies of this country; another was, that it was a pity that we, who are Christians, and have not only our liberties, lands, wives, and children, but also our religion in question, cannot agree amongst ourselves, whilst the Romans, who are but Ethnics, when their affairs came in hazard, would agree amongst themselves, and so far yield one to another that they would make one of themselves to be *Dictator* to have the sole power over them; yea private enemies, when they were employed in public affairs

north Forth, by which the subjects were to be obliged in fidelity and fealty, and that the earl refused to subscribe it, but rather should die or he did it; which he would prove with sixteen as good as himself." Mr John Robertson, minister of Perth, was examined at the same time, and deponed to the same effect, adding, "that the earl affirmed that the foressaid bond anent the rule be-north Forth, was offered to his lordship, to be subscribed by him, at Chowlsy wood, before the army crossed Tweed."—*Orig. MS.*

did lay down their private quarrels and join in hearty union so long as the public was in question." Such were the very suspicious expressions which Lindsay himself, when subsequently examined before a Committee of Inquiry on the subject of this conversation, admitted that he had addressed to Montrose. Lindsay, however, was a staunch adherent of Argyle's, and is characterized by Guthry, as one of "the most furious in the cause." His interests, too, lay be-north the Forth; and that in this speech he was sounding the other on the subject of the proposed dictatorship, there cannot be any doubt. He declared indeed that "he does not remember that ever he named the Earl of Argyle, or meant that there was any intention to make the Earl of Argyle, or any other, dictator at all; and remembers that in a discourse—either at that or some other time—the Earl of Montrose asking if the deponer knew that the Earl of Argyle was to have any preferment, he answered that he knew not of any, but that there was a great esteem had of him in the country." But Montrose,—who was ever fearless and truthful, and whose statements, moreover, are corroborated by the fact of the bond, a measure of which Lindsay could not be ignorant,—repeatedly "affirmed that the Lord Lindsay named the Earl of Argyle to be dictator;" and, out of mere courtesy to the imperfect recollection of his lordship, thus finally qualified his written declaration on the subject,—“That to his best memory the Lord Lindsay named the Earl of Argyle to be the man pointed at; but, howsoever, the whole drift of the discourse did infer so much, as the Earl of Montrose did conceive the same.”*

Moreover, there were other circumstances to confirm this loyal chief in his well-grounded suspicions. Argyle, after the bond had been privately prepared, which was to invest himself with

* *Orig. MS. Advoc. Lib.*—Dated 4th June 1641 (a twelvemonth after the conversation), and signed "Montrose, Cassilis, Balmerino, Napier." The three last-named noblemen were a committee appointed by the Committee of Estates to endeavour to reconcile the declarations of Montrose and Lindsay.

supreme authority over the north of Scotland, obtained from the parliament of 1640 (a convention entirely at his nod) authority to levy and command an army, professedly for the purpose of guarding the coast against invasion by Strafford, but which in fact was meant to be subservient to any of his own purposes. When encamped at the Ford of Lyon, in Athol, with some part of his great following, soon after the rising of that parliament, he brought by stratagem to his tent, and for a short while detained as a prisoner, no less a person than the Earl of Athol himself, together with eight gentlemen of his clan. Among these was John Stewart, younger of Ladywell. This individual soon after conveyed to Montrose the information that Argyle, while in that quarter, was not only pressing bonds (virtually of subjugation to himself) upon the surrounding districts, but that he openly spoke in his tent of dethroning the king. Our hero, in his judicial examination, declared that, according to the information he received, "the four bonds, some of them were pressed in the Earl of Argyle's name, and some pressed by the earl himself; and that, concerning the deposing of the king, the Earl of Argyle discoursed thereof before twenty or thirty gentlemen; and that Ogilvy of Inchmartin and Stewart of Grantully were the hearers of the Earl of Argyle make that discourse, viz. that they were minded, if not at the sitting of the parliament in June last to depose the king, that they would do it at the first of the next ensuing parliament; and that the relater of the discourse told, it was resolved by lawyers and divines that it might be so, and reasons thereof, viz. *venditione, desertione, incasione*."*

Combining this information with what he already knew, Montrose could not fail to be alarmed for the interests of the kingly power in Scotland; and he was perfectly justified in his determination to counteract the ambitious schemes of those who, to adopt the words of the covenanting Lord Advocate to

* Montrose's Declaration.—*Orig. MS.*

Rothés, "had not religion for their end, but the bearing down of monarchy." A bond for cantoning the country, and proclaiming Argyle dictator be-north the Forth, had been placed before him for signature. That earl's intimate friend and coadjutor, Lindsay, had recommended to him the Roman remedy for curing such disorders as the Covenant had already given birth to,—a dictatorship. He had heard the prerogative, as well as the name of his majesty, contemptuously spoken of in the Parliament of 1640; and over that house, as well as the committee which it appointed, the influence of Argyle was paramount. The same nobleman himself was traversing the north with a powerful body of his clansmen and other dependents, imposing bonds of allegiance, not to the king, but in such terms as he, for his own ends, thought fit to dictate. In his tent he discoursed to his followers concerning the circumstances under which a sovereign might be dethroned by his subjects. Such were the facts simultaneously pressed upon Montrose's attention, as proved by the original manuscripts yet extant of his own judicial declarations. But it may well be supposed that many other circumstances, of which no record has been preserved, concurred about this period to rouse within him the sentiment which even Sir Thomas Hope had so emphatically pronounced to Rothés, "let me be put to an essay for *religion*, and ye shall see what I shall do or suffer for it; but for civil points look never to have me to go with you."

With characteristic promptitude, Montrose, before rejoining the army at the Borders, took measures which he fondly hoped would at once preserve all that was respectable and patriotic in the covenanting movement he had joined, and at the same time save the throne from the intriguing of a few leading factionists. Accordingly, taking a hint from the proceedings of the opposite party, he too framed a bond of alliance; but it was the bond of a conservative association, as temperate and dignified in its expressions as it was unexceptionable in its object. Baillie vaguely and violently describes it as "Montrose's damnable band, by which he thought to have sold us

to the enemy;" but he has not quoted it in his voluminous letters and journals. He had no desire that the precise terms of it should enter the *Historia Motuum* of his kinsman and correspondent Spang. The terms of the bond itself remaining unknown, it has been frequently described (upon the mere assertion of the principal) as a factious plot on the part of Montrose, dictated by no better motive than his rivalry of Argyle. It was even burnt by the Committee of Estates. The following transcript, however, was made at the time, though hitherto it has remained unnoticed among the manuscripts of the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour."*

"The copy of the bond subscribed by Montrose and the rest of these noblemen :—

"Whereas we under-subscribers, out of our duty to Religion, King, and Country, were forced to join ourselves in a Covenant for the maintenance and defence of eithers, and every one of other, in that behalf : Now finding how that, by the *particular and indirect practising of a few*, the country, and cause now depending, does so much suffer, do heartily hereby bind and oblige ourselves, out of our duty to all these respects above mentioned, but chiefly and namely *that Covenant already signed*, to wed and study all public ends which may tend to the safety both of Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this poor kingdom ; and, as we are to make an account before that Great Judge at the last day, that we shall contribute one with another, in a unanimous and joint way, in whatsoever may concern the public or this cause, to the hazard of our lives, fortunes, and estates, neither of us doing, consulting, nor condescending in any point, without the consent and approbation of the whole, in so far as they can be conveniently had, and time may allow. And likeas we swear and protest by the same oath, that, in so far as may consist with the good and weal of the

* The Lord Lyon probably superintended the burning of the bond, and had obtained a transcript of it.

public, every one of us shall join and adhere to others [each other], and their interests, against all persons and causes whatsoever, so what shall be done to one, with reservation fore-said, shall be equally resented and taken as done to the whole number. In witness hereof," &c.

"The subscribers of the principal bond, and in this order. Marschell, Montrose, Wigton, Kinghorn, Home, Athol, Mar, Perth, Boyd, Galloway, Stormont, Seaforth, Erskine, Kircubrycht, Amond, Drummond, Johnston, Lour, D. Carnegie Master of Lour."

Having accomplished so much of his loyal and patriotic plan, he forthwith returned to the army.

It was early in August 1640, at Cumbernauld, the house of his relative the Earl of Wigton, that the bond now quoted was signed. Montrose's opposition to the party of Argyle and Rothies has been generally regarded as a manifest proof of separation from the Covenant to which he had already sworn. But even the signatures to this bond attest the contrary. That all who signed it were not so constant in their opposition, and that none of them became so devoted in the hopeless cause of monarchy, cannot alter the fact that many of the most honourable of the *covenanting* nobles actually subscribed to the sentiments thus expressed, and swore to maintain them. This document illustrates the opinion entertained of Argyle, as its failure proves his power; for among the signatures will be observed that of Amond, who at the very time was lieutenant-general of the army, and second in command to Leslie. In regard to the Earl of Mar, Baillie, writing in the course of the year which intervened betwixt the date of the Covenant and that of the bond, observes, "Stirling was in the hand of our *sure friend* the Earl of Mar, so we touched it not." And must not this chronicler have blushed to look back upon the fanaticism quoted below,* when he found Lord Erskine's name at

"While we were in some piece of perplexity, we were *singularly comforted*, that in the very instant of the marquis's departure [from

the "damnable band." The fact is, there was no sanity of constitutional or Christian feeling in the fervour which led to the Covenant ; and those who signed this new bond had a better right to call themselves pure Covenanters than those by whom it was denounced. The older paction or agreement *breathed* the very essence of loyalty ; and had Montrose acquired power under a bond of his own, and wielded that power in support of the king's authority against the democratical party, he would only have redeemed the Covenant from the abuse of it by a few, and brought it back to the fulfilment of its original professions.

Such are the circumstances which arose out of the attempt on the part of Argyle to obtain the signature of Montrose to the charter of his projected dictatorship be-north the Forth. These particulars have not been recorded by Dr Wishart ; but he states that his noble friend was absent when the rebel army came to the determination of crossing Tweed, and he adds,—“ Which resolution of theirs the chief of the Covenanters had taken up in their cabinet counsels more than six weeks before, and to that purpose had been busy in divulging through all Great Britain their apologetic pamphlets, whereby they laboured to set a gloss upon the reasons of their expedition. This resolution of theirs, Montrose, being returned, seeing he could not hinder, would not seem to disapprove. Montrose commanded in this army 2000 foot and 500 horse. His friends who were most obliged to him, and had religiously promised their best endeavours in the king's ser-

the Assembly 1638], a very noble youth, of great expectation, my Lord Erskine, craving audience of us, professed *with tears* his great grief, that, against the *inborn light of his own mind*, he had withheld his hand from our Covenant, and person from our meetings, besought to *pray Christ for him*, that his *sin* might be forgiven him, and entreated humbly we would now admit him to our Covenant and Society. We all embraced him gladly, and admired the *timeousness* of God's *comforts and mercies* towards us.”—*Letters and Journals*.

vice, had the command of 5000 more ; and truly, if a great part of them had not been worse than their words, he had either brought the whole army along with him to the king, or at least had broken the neck of the Covenanters' designs."

Friday, 21st August 1640, the army under General Leslie crossed the Tweed. Upon this memorable occasion a curious incident occurred, for which we have the authority of James Gordon, and also of Baillie, who was in the camp. The chiefs were assembled, and "dice were cast" to determine which should first pass through the river. The lot fell upon Montrose. Either it was so managed in order to test his willingness and commit him conspicuously in the rebellion, or the fortune was remarkable. All the contemporary accounts coincide in their description of the alacrity with which he set the example to the whole army. "He went on foot himself first through, and returned to encourage his men."* There was some danger in the attempt, for the stream was so strong that cavalry were obliged to be stationed in the water to break the force of the current, and one of his soldiers was drowned in the passage. Animated, however, by the gallantry with which he had passed and repassed, "boots and all," "we," says Baillie, "passed Tweed the 20th August with great courage, our horse troops standing in the water, our foot all wading in order, about their middle." Eight days afterwards, the miserable affair of Newburn, where Lord Conway scarcely disputed the passage of the Tyne, enabled the Scots to fasten with impunity upon Newcastle, and afforded them the pretensions of a great victory. Sir James Turner (the prototype of Rit-master Dugald Dalgetty) happened at this time to be returning from mercenary service abroad, and was roving in search of a new commander. So he stumbled upon the victorious invaders at Newcastle, where, he says, "I found

* Guthry also records the circumstance in these terms : "The Earl of Montrose, leading the van, did, to encourage his soldiers, alight from his horse, and go through the river of Tweed on foot ; howbeit many thought that in his heart he was turned royalist."

this success had elevated the minds of my countrymen to such a height of vanity that most of them thought, and many said, they should quickly make a full conquest of England ; but time hath shown them since that they made their reckoning without their host.”*

In none of the accounts of this passage of the Tyne do we find any mention of Montrose ; and the affair appears to have been decided by Leslie’s judicious management of his “ dear Sandie’s stoups.” The only allusion to him, in the Covenanters’ despatches, is as follows :—“ When the army came to their night’s leaguer at Newburnford, the general and lieutenant-general, Earl of Montrose, Lord Ker, and some few with them, were going about the fields towards the water, an English troop appeared above the water-brae within a short distance of them. Both halted till some more of our horses came up, and then the English retired over the water.” It was to their own utter amazement that the Scots obtained this easy possession of Newcastle, “ not well knowing,” says Baillie, with great simplicity, “ what to do next ; yet this is no new thing to us, for many a time from the beginning we have been at a *non plus* ; but God helped us ever ;” and, being in some tribulation at the long-promised assistance from the south still failing them, he adds, “ if we trouble, in the least sort, the country of England, we are feared for their rising against us.”

In the month of October, the celebrated treaty commenced at Ripon ; and shortly afterwards, greatly to the advantage of the faction, the commission was removed to London, their army remaining meanwhile at Newcastle.

* When they came actually to realize the fruits of their adventures, Baillie thus gloats over their extraordinary good fortune, in the true spirit of the cause,—“ £300,000 sterling, 5,408,000 merks Scots ! is a pretty sum in our land, beside the 1,800,000 merks for our army these last four months, and £25,000 sterling for the fifth month coming ! Yet the hearty giving of it to us, as to their brethren, refreshed us as much as the money itself.”—*Letters and Journals*.

No sooner was this arrangement made than private intriguing, for their own interests, began on the part of the dominant Covenanters.* In nothing was their real motives more manifest than in their sudden progress from the plausible outcry (in which Montrose had joined) for religious liberty, to the unjustifiable demand, on the part of parliament, of the right to exercise the royal prerogative of dispensing the offices of state, and all the high places in Scotland. From the first motion to this effect, in the session of 1639, the earl's opposition may be dated ; for he at once saw the immediate object and the no very distant consequences of such usurpation. Rothes appears to have considered matters already ripe for the private ends which this state of affairs was intended to facilitate ; and Montrose could not fail to be cognizant of a circumstance, occurring soon after the arrival of the army at Newcastle, which must have tended still further to open his eyes. In the course of the attempt which was made in the following year, 1641, to bring his opposition under the construction of treason against "the cause," his nephew, Sir George Stirling,† was compelled to reveal all he knew, in these terms :—"The Laird of Keir being commanded by the parliament to declare to the committee what he knows of any who have been practising or dealing for their own private or particular ends, declares as follows, viz., Shortly after the army came to Newcastle, one with a message or commission came to Newcastle. Thereafter Mr Eleazar Borthwick was despatched and sent away, without consulting of the committee who were commanded by the parliament to attend the army. Those who received the

* Guthry states that during the treaty which succeeded the taking of Newcastle, "divers of the nobility, such as Montrose, Erskine, Drummond, and others, quarrelled [complained] that they were neglected in the matter of consultation, and that business was contrived and carried on by a few." The fact, which proved so fatal to the best interests of the country and the national honour of Scotland, is completely verified by the secret letters of Archibald Johnston.

† Sir George Stirling of Keir was married to Montrose's niece, Lord Napier's eldest daughter.

commission and despatched away Mr Eleazar were some of the committee. The deponer could not condescend upon their names ; and in respect the deponer was urged by the committee to show, and set under his hand, what further he knows upon the foressaid question, being loath to touch upon these parties, whom he respected, desired to be delayed until he had acquitted himself to them ; which being refused by the committee, he declared that he understood, by the Earl of Argyle, that the Earl of Rothes had written to him to let him know if his lordship *had a mind to be chancellor of Scotland* ; and likewise did see the Earl of Argyle's answer to the Earl of Rothes, wherein he did show that he had no such intention." *

The Scottish seals had been in the custody of Hamilton ever since the resignation of Archbishop Spotiswood in 1639, at which time that venerable prelate escaped from the impending storm, and betook himself to retirement in England. Argyle had long coveted this first place in the kingdom, for which he had been an unsuccessful competitor upon the death of Kinnoull in 1635, when the churchman acquired both the place and the bitter enmity of his rival. His declinature of Rothes's good offices in this matter must have been dictated by some policy of the moment ; for not many months afterwards we find him pressing urgently for this very office, which Charles, even while yielding all his prerogatives in the north, could neither be induced nor compelled to bestow upon him. The worst suspicions of Montrose must have been confirmed, when he became aware (as from his intimate connexion with Keir there is no doubt he would) that Rothes, as if he had the seals in his pocket, was secretly writing to the dictator "to let him know if his lordship had a mind to be chancellor of Scotland."

Towards the end of the month of September, our earl con-

* Orig. MS. signed by Keir and Balmerino.

trived to transmit a letter to his royal master. "In the time of the truce," says Dr Wishart, "Montrose had sent letters unto the king, professing his fidelity, and most dutiful and ready obedience to his majesty, nor did the letters contain any thing else. These being stolen away in the night, and copied out by the king's own bed-chamber men,—men most endeared to the king of all the world,—were sent back by them to the Covenanters at Newcastle ; and it was the fashion with those very men to communicate unto the Covenanters, from day to day, the king's most secret councils, of which they themselves only were either authors or partakers." According to Sanderson, a contemporary historian, this treachery had been instigated by the Marquis of Hamilton. Bishop Guthry declares that Montrose himself, "professing to have *certain knowledge* thereof, affirmed William Murray [of the bed-chamber, and a creature of Hamilton] was the man who, in October 1640, sent to Newcastle the copies of his letters which he had written to the king, then at York." Baillie's account of the matter is as follows: "Some of our officers became malcontents ; what ailed our officers is not yet well known, only Montrose, whose pride long ago was intolerable and meaning very doubtful, *was found* to have intercourse of letters with the king, for which he was accused publicly by the general in the face of the committee. His bed-fellow Drummond, his cousin Fleming, his ally Boyd, and *too many others*, were thought too much to be of his humour. The coolness of the good old general, and the *diligence of the preachers*, did shortly cast water on this spunk, beginning untimely to smoke."

But, upon this occasion, the instant and fearless assertion by Montrose, of his right to hold a private correspondence with his sovereign, paralyzed his accusers. Argyle and his party were most desirous of an opportunity to rid themselves for ever of a nobleman whose talents, courage, and independence, were so formidable to their schemes. This occasion at first appeared to favour their object. Leslie's articles of war decreed that "no man shall, at his own hand, without war-

rant of my lord-general, have or keep intelligence with *the enemy*, by speech, letters, signs, or any other way, under the pain to be punished as a traitor." In fact, his majesty was now considered the enemy, and a loyal correspondence with him, apart from certain rulers of the movement, was treason by their code. But when the earl boldly justified the act, it was impossible to gainsay him; for the same articles of war,—true to the system of the Covenanters, who never struck a rebellious blow without first proclaiming their excessive loyalty,—contained this provision: "if any man shall open his mouth against the king's majesty's person or authority, or shall presume to touch his sacred person, he shall be punished as a traitor!" So the matter ended for the time.

The nature of Montrose's communications to his sovereign shall be presently illustrated from an original draft of one of those loyal letters, written about this period, and which has been preserved among Lord Napier's papers. That they were of the unimpeachable character described by Wishart, is sufficiently proved by the circumstance, that the Covenanters never published their contents, and that, with every desire, they could find no pretext for taking extreme measures against the writer, when he avowed and justified the act.

During the tyrannical proceedings of the following year, the earl, when examined before the Committee of Estates, deponed,—“Being interrogated whether his lordship had written any letters to his majesty the time he was in Berwick, declares, to his memory, he did write none; but that, in the time of the parliament or assembly [1639], his lordship did write one or two, and after that time, to his lordship's memory, did write none till the army was at Newcastle, at which time his lordship did write one letter; neither does his lordship remember particularly the tenor of any of those letters.”* The epistles here alluded to, as having been written

* Orig. MS. signed by Montrose, and Balmerino as president of the committee.

during the conventions in Scotland which immediately followed the pacification of Berwick, undoubtedly had been delivered by the king to Hamilton, and were before Bishop Burnet when employed in the task of writing an apology for the marquis, drawn from the family papers. After alluding to the excitement in the covenanting camp at Newcastle, occasioned by the letter which Montrose had written from thence, the Bishop observes : "In October and December of the former year [1639], Montrose had writ much in the same strain to the king ; which letters the king gave Hamilton, and are yet extant, but were never heard of till now that the writer gives this account of them."* He was not aware that Montrose himself had deponed before the Committee of Estates, in 1641, to the fact of having written those letters to his majesty ; his deposition had been taken in private, and never afterwards published by the Argyle Inquisition, whose object was to have entrapped him into a denial of circumstances, of which they were secretly and fully informed. It is remarkable that Burnet, who obviously had the letters before him (as he gives their dates, which correspond with Montrose's original deposition quoted above), suppresses all precise information as to their contents ; a fact which also affords testimony in their favour, as in that publication the prelate is most anxious to depreciate his character. He gives no account of them whatever ; and it is curious that they have never been heard of since ; neither had Lord Hardwicke discovered them there, when he subsequently extracted from the Hamilton archives those illustrations of the troubles in Scotland which we find in his collections published in 1778.

Thus it appears, that while the government of Scotland was entirely monopolized by Rothes, Argyle, and a few others,—acting secretly, and to the exclusion even of those who were nominally members of it,—and while a private correspondence between these two chiefs, on the subject of appropriating the

* Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, p. 179.

national seals, was not to be impugned,—a loyal letter from a nobleman to his sovereign, consistent at once with the liberties of the country and duty to the throne, was execrated as a treasonable “division in the camp.” The incident was immediately reported to head-quarters at Edinburgh, and the following reference to it occurs in the Lord Advocate’s Diary.

“*Words heard 12th October 1640, Monday.* This day, being grieved for the report of the division in the camp, occasioned by the Earl of Montrose, I was humbly supplicating the Lord, and remembering the words which I heard 22d September 1639. And, after falling in a slumber, I seemed to hear these words: ‘*Ask still, and the end shall be glorious.*’ And after waking and blessing the Lord, I fell in a slumber again, and heard these words: ‘*And you shall see it.*’ The Lord in mercy perform it in his own good time.

“*24th October 1640, Saturday.* Letters from Sir Thomas my son, from Newcastle, dated 20th October, wherein he tells of the king’s granting to them £259 sterling a-month during the treaty, and had passed commission, under the great seal of England, to those of the nobility who were named of before, to end and conclude with the commissioners; and that his majesty was gone to London to prepare for the parliament, which sits down there on the 3d of November next. Blessed be the Lord, and God in mercy give the business a happy closing.”*

Although every act and sentiment, evincing a loyalty dangerous or distasteful to the few dominant Covenanters, were thus visited with the utmost rigour of an unscrupulous and anomalous tribunal, a much greater latitude of expression

* At this time his majesty was accompanied by the advocate’s other son, the carver extraordinary; for he notes, on the 28th of October, that he receives information “that his majesty was gone from York, on Monday last, to London, and that my son Alexander was gone with his majesty.”

against the sovereign and the crown, was not only permitted but encouraged and incited. It seems that one Walter Stewart, an officer in their army, of whom we shall presently hear more, had reported to the Sheriff of Yeviotdale a conversation which took place at Newcastie betwixt him and Sir Thomas Hope of Kinn, the advocate's son, who commanded the College of Justice 1700 about the very time when Montrose wrote his letter to the king. This conversation Stewart had reported as something verging on high treason; and, considering the ties of connection between Hope's family and his majesty, it would have been rather an awkward scandal to have reached the royal ear. A few months afterwards, this person was arrested in Scotland, and made to bear witness against Montrose, in depositions extorted from him under circumstances which shall be narrated in the sequel. Upon that occasion, when reporting his examinations to Archibald Johnston in London, Sir Thomas writes, "Walter Stewart has craved a pardon for the wrong he did me, and has set down the words which past betwixt us, under his hand, whereof I have sent the authentic copy to my brother [Alexander], which you may have from him if ye desire to see it."*

How far Sir Thomas had been wronged by Stewart's first report of the conversation does not appear; but his original written deposition here alluded to is yet extant among the manuscripts of Sir James Balfour; and it must be confessed, that had any thing so suspicious as even this modified version of it been pointed against Argyle, his committee-government would have endeavoured to bring to punishment, and not to exonerate, the author of that conversation. It may be presumed that the carver extraordinary did not lay before his majesty even the following justification of his brother:—

"5 June 1641. In presence of the Lord Balmerino and Edward Edgar, Lieutenant-colonel Stewart was examined, who, being interrogated what the words were which he did

* Orig. MS. The whole letter will be found at p. 169-171.

report to the Sheriff of Teviotdale that Sir Thomas Hope had spoken anent the parliament, deponed, that the said Sir Thomas and he being one day with my Lord-general [Leslie] in his dining-room at Newcastle, and falling in discourse anent the Earl of Strafford, the deponer saying that the Earl of Strafford should only be judged by his peers, being so great a man as he was, and not by the whole parliament, Sir Thomas replied :—

HOPE.—“ No subject can be so great but that the parliament may judge him. If credit be given to histories, parliaments have judged kings.”

STEWART.—“ I believe you cannot make that good.”

HOPE.—“ It may be made good out of histories.”

STEWART.—“ Out of what histories ?”

HOPE.—“ I will not speak of English histories, but for the Scottish it will be found in Buchanan.”

STEWART.—“ Is it out of his *De Jure Regni* ?”

HOPE.—“ I speak of his history.”

STEWART.—“ Buchanan is but a modern writer.”

HOPE.—“ Though Buchanan was so himself, no doubt he had written out of those who wrote before him.”

STEWART.—“ What kings were they of whom Buchanan wrote !”

HOPE.—“ I do not remember their names for the present, but, to my memory, Kenneth the Second, or Kenneth the Third, was one of them.”

“ And so they left discoursing upon that particular. The deponer declares that none were present at the words speaking but the general alone, and that those were the words, or the like in substance, which the deponer did relate to the Sheriff of Teviotdale, and that he did not speak them out of any ill intention, and declares that he never heard Sir Thomas speak any other words of this kind at no other time.”*

* Original MS. signed by the deponer, Walter Stewart ; and by Balmerino and Edward Edgar, as members of the national committee. This was a small committee to dispose of such a matter.

But this conversation happens to be in perfect unison with the debate at the opening of the Scottish parliament in 1640, when Montrose argued against such sentiments; and, by a singular coincidence, it occurred at the very juncture when the king's authority and person began to be more than whispered against by the democratic party in England. Clarendon tells us, in his *Life*, that "when Mr Hyde [meaning himself] sat in the chair in the grand committee of the house for the extirpation of Episcopacy [1641], all that party made great court to him,"—and that at this time having met his intimate republican friend, Harry Martin, "walking between the parliament-house and Westminster in the church-yard,"—they entered into a political discourse, the object of the latter being to make a convert of the future chancellor. This great man bore his part in the argument with candour and openness, and pressed Martin "to say *what* he desired; to which, after a little pause, he very roundly answered, '*I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all.*'" His lordship adds, that "this was the first word he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose," and was greatly shocked at finding such a sentiment abroad, and hearing it from the lips of an individual "possessed of a very great fortune and having great credit in his country."

In this state of matters the Cumbernauld bond, which Montrose no doubt flattered himself would be the means of saving the country, was brought to light, and denounced before the committee at Edinburgh by Argyle himself. One of the peers who signed it was Lord Boyd, a son-in-law of the Earl of Wigton. Boyd died upon the 19th of November 1640, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, in consequence, it is said, of a burning fever; and shortly before his death he had uttered some expressions which made known that such a bond existed. Argyle, with characteristic sagacity, discovered the whole secret. He paid a visit at Callendar (where Lord Amond had arrived for a time from his command at Newcastle), nor did he depart without obtaining all the information of which he

was in quest. Immediately thereafter, the subservient committee at Edinburgh summoned Montrose, then in Scotland, and the rest of the noblemen implicated and within their reach, to appear and answer to this new accusation of treason. The earl acted with the same cool intrepidity he invariably displayed when pursued by this party, now anxious to destroy him and not at all scrupulous as to the means. He avowed and justified what he had done. Spalding says, that he "produced the bond." Guthry's account is, that "they acknowledged the bond, and gave their reasons why they had joined in it, all which were rejected by the committee, and they declared censurable; and indeed some of the ministers, and other fiery spirits, pressed that their *lives might go for it*; but Argyle and his committee considered that they were too strong a party to meddle with that way, especially seeing divers of them having the commands of regiments in the army; and therefore they consulted to pack up the business, upon a declaration under their hands that they intended nothing against the public, together with a surrendering of the bond, which the committee having gotten caused it *to be burnt*." Had the terms of this compact been at all discreditable to Montrose, or had it contained any intemperate expressions against "the cause," it would have been printed in the shape of a pamphlet, and circulated as a means of agitation against him. That it was not suited for that purpose, the reader has been enabled to judge, by the production of the document itself. But their policy was to exasperate the public mind by vague and cloudy rumours, to the effect that this was a diabolical plot against the liberties of the country, and against those sacred principles which the Covenant had promulgated.

After this vain attempt—to rouse, in defence of the throne, some of the loyal nobles of Scotland—had, in the manner now described, exploded on his own head, Montrose returned to the army at Newcastle. Attached to that host was Colonel Cochrane, whose name often occurs in the mysterious transactions of the period, and who had been lately in Holland. Upon

that occasion, the exiled Elector Palatine, then at the Briel, sent for him, and "entering in discourse anent his highness' own affairs, desired the colonel to represent his condition to the Estates of Scotland, and named some of the Scots noblemen whom he knew, and named the Earl of Montrose as one of whom he had much heard, and desired he might have an opportunity to speak with him." When Cochrane returned to this country he met him at Newcastle, and discoursed with him on the subject of affairs in Britain and elsewhere. "I am desirous," said our hero, "to follow the wars abroad, and wish that things were settled at home, that I might employ my talents that way." Cochrane, in reply, reported to him the high opinion which the elector had expressed of his character and fame, and how desirous he was to meet with him. By this time the unfortunate prince had arrived at the court of England, and Montrose authorized the colonel to assure him that he was ready to meet his highness in London, upon his command to that effect being signified to him by letter. Soon afterwards Cochrane informed him that, from the strict manner in which he had been questioned on the subject of their last conversation by General Leslie, he had reason to believe that a letter, which he had written to the elector on the subject of his desire to meet with him, had been intercepted; that Leslie rated him for writing thus privately to court, and only passed the offence over for the time, upon the colonel declaring that he had done so without considering that he thereby committed any breach of discipline. To this communication the earl replied, with just indignation, that it would be necessary for him to put all his correspondence in cipher, "because," said he "I am a man envied, and all means are tried to cross me."

Shortly after this event, as Montrose was riding from Chester to Newcastle, in company with the general and this same Cochrane, he addressed to the latter some observations on the subject of the Cumbernauld bond. "I am prepared to prove," said he, "that there are some of the principal leaders of affairs

in Scotland guilty of high treason in the highest manner, and that they have even entered into motions for deposing the king." "I entreat your lordship," replied the colonel in great trepidation, "leave that subject and speak of some other;" which he accordingly did at the time. Soon afterwards, however, when he was in Montrose's lodgings at Newcastle, the earl, as if he had a malicious pleasure in trying his nerves, drew him aside, and said, "Think you not but I can prove what I said to you the other day!" upon which, depones Cochrane, "I answered, I desire not to hear or speak of such matters, and therefore crave your lordship's pardon not to go further on them."*

About the end of the year 1640, and beginning of 1641, Montrose and Napier, who had quitted the army-committee in disgust, and returned to Scotland, were in the habit of supping together with a few friends, when the affairs of the nation were anxiously but temperately discussed. The party generally included, besides these two noblemen, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall a Lord of Council and Session, married to Stirling's sister. Soon after christmas of the year 1640, Colonel Walter Stewart, already mentioned, being on his way to court, Blackhall took him to Montrose's lodgings to supper, where he met Lord Napier, Keir, and Colonel Sibbald. After this last had left the party, the remaining five retired to the earl's bedchamber, where a

* Original MS. deposition (before the Committee of Estates), dated in 1641, and signed "J. Cocheran.—Argyle, Amond." *Advoc. Lib.* There is another of Colonel Cochrane's depositions, dated in 1642 (when the persecution of Montrose, Napier, Stirling of Keir, and Stewart of Blackhall, was still going on), in which he adheres to the foregoing, and adds, "that the Earl of Argyle was the man whom he [Montrose] named."

Colonel Cochrane was patronised by the Queen of Bohemia, the mother of the Elector Palatine; for Charles stated to the Scotch parliament in 1641, that Colonel Cochrane had been particularly recommended to him by his sister.

conference was held, the substance of which, as well as of another between the same individuals when supping at Merchiston on the following night, was thus noted by Lord Napier himself :—

“The Earl of Montrose, Lord Naper, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, knights, having occasion to meet often, did then deplore the hard estate the country was in ; our religion not secured, and with it our liberties being in danger,—laws silenced,—justice, and the course of judicatories, obstructed,—noblemen and gentlemen put to excessive charges above their abilities, and distracted from their private affairs,—the course of traffic interrupted, to the undoing of merchants and tradesmen,—moneyed men paid with faylies and suspensions,*—and, besides these present evils, fearing worse to follow,—the king's authority being much shaken by the late troubles,—knowing well that the necessary consequences and effects of a weak sovereign power are *anarchy and confusion*, the tyranny of subjects, the most *insatiable and insupportable tyranny of the world*,—without hope of redress from the prince, curbed and restrained from the lawful use of his power,—factions and distractions within,—opportunity to enemies abroad, and to ill-affected subjects at home, to kindle a fire in the state which hardly can be quenched (unless it please the Almighty of his great mercy to prevent it) without the ruin of *king, people, and state*.

“These sensible evils begot in them thoughts of remedy, The best, they thought, was, that if his majesty would be pleased to *come in person to Scotland*, and give his people satis-

* That this was no fanciful view taken by Montrose and Lord Napier of the state of the country, we may learn from a passage in one of Baillie's letters, so early as the month of April 1638, when that Covenantant, in the very midst of his admiration and excitement on the subject of the movement, exclaims, with the mixture of shrewdness and simplicity characteristic of him,—“our country is at the point of breaking loose, our laws this twelve months have been silenced, divers misregard their creditors, our Highlands are making ready their arms, and some begin to murder their neighbours.”

faction in point of religion and *just* liberties, he should thereby settle his own authority, and cure all the distempers and distractions among his subjects. For they assured themselves that the king giving God his due, and the people theirs, they would give Cæsar that which was his. While these thoughts and discourses were entertained among them, Lieutenant Walter Stewart came to the town, who was repairing to court about his own business. Whereupon it was thought expedient to employ him to deal with the Duke of Lennox (being a Stuart, and one that was oft at court, they thought, but were deceived, that he was well known to the duke) to persuade his majesty's journey to Scotland for the effect foresaid. This was the lieutenant's employment, and nocht else; although there was some other discourses to that purpose in the bye; as, that it was best his majesty should keep up the vacant offices,* till his majesty had settled the affairs here; and the lieutenant proponed this difficulty, that our army lay in his way, and that his majesty could not in honour pass through them; to which he got this present reply,—that our commissioners were at London,—if the king did not agree with them, his majesty would not come at all,—but if he did agree, the army should be his army, and they would all lay down their arms at his feet. There is no man so far from the duty of a good subject, or so void of common sense, as to quarrel this matter. But the *manner* is mightily impugned, and aggravated by all the means that the malicious libeller† can invent. 'It is *bonum*,' says he (no man so impudent as can deny it), 'but it is not *bonè*;' and therefore, 'The Plotters,'—for with that odious name they design them,—'ought to be punished with loss of fame, life, lands, goods and gear, and be incapable of place, honour, or preferment,'—a sore sentence

* The offices of state, some of which were vacant in Scotland, in consequence of the revolution there.

† Referring to the criminal libels drawn up in 1641 against Montrose and Napier, at the instance of the Lord Advocate, but most probably composed by Wariston.

any man will think, after the matter be well tried and discussed.”*

This throws light, hitherto not obtained, upon the precise extent and object of that “plotting against the religion and liberties of Scotland,” of which Montrose was so virulently accused by the dominant party in 1641; an accusation perpetuated against him by historians favourable to democratical ascendancy. Lord Napier’s simple statement bears the stamp of truth, and is sufficiently guaranteed by his whole conduct and character. But among the same manuscripts there is also found, in his handwriting, the original draft of a letter to Charles, evidently the result of the above-mentioned conferences, which will be read with still greater interest. It proves precisely the nature of that private correspondence with the king for which Montrose had nearly suffered death at the time, and of which little has hitherto been known.

“Sir,—Your antient and native kingdom of Scotland is in a mighty distemper. It is incumbent on your majesty to find out the disease, remove the causes, and apply convenient remedies. The disease, in my opinion, is *contagious*, and may infect the rest of your majesty’s dominions. It is the falling sickness; for they are like to fall from you, and from the obedience due to you,—if, by removing the cause, and application of wholesome remedies, it be not speedily prevented. The cause is a fear and apprehension, *not without some reason*, of changes in religion, and that superstitious worship shall be brought in upon it, and therewith all their laws infringed and their liberties invaded. Free them, sir, from this fear, as *you are free from any such thoughts*, and undoubtedly you shall thereby settle that state in a *firm obedience to your majesty in*

* Original MS. in Lord Napier’s handwriting, in the Napier charter-chest. It may be as well to state, that, in quoting this and all the other manuscripts, they are given *verbatim* as written, with the exception of a slightly antiquated orthography, which it was thought unnecessary to retain.

all time coming. They have no other end but to preserve their religion in purity, and their liberties entire. That they intend the overthrow of monarchical government is a calumny. They are capable of no other,—for many and great reasons,—and ere they will admit another than your majesty, and, after you, your son and nearest of your posterity, to sit upon that throne, *many thousands of them will spend their dearest blood.* You are not like a tree lately planted, which oweth the fall to the first wind. Your ancestors have governed there, without interruption of race, two thousand years, or thereabout, and taken such root as it can never be plucked up by any but yourselves. If any other shall entertain such treasonable thoughts, which I do not believe, certainly they will prove as vain as they are wicked.

“The remedy of this dangerous disease consisteth only in your majesty’s presence for a space in that kingdom. It is easy to you in person to settle these troubles, and to disperse these mists of apprehension and mistaking,—*impossible* to any other. If you send down a commissioner, whate’er he be, he shall neither give nor get contentment, but shall render the disease incurable. The success of your majesty’s affairs,—the security of your authority,—the peace and happiness of your subjects, depend upon your personal presence. The disease is of that kind which is much helped by *conceit* [imagination], and the presence of the physician. *Now* is the proper time, and the critical days; for the people love *change*, and expect from it much good,—a new heaven and a new earth,—but, being *disappointed*, are as desirous of a rechange to the former estate. Satisfy them, sir, in point of religion and liberties, when you come there, in a loving and free manner, that they may see your majesty had never any other purpose, and doth not intend the least prejudice to either. For religious subjects, and such as enjoy their lawful liberties, obey better and love more than the godless and servile, who do all out of base fear, which begets hate. Any difference that may arise upon

the acts passed in the last parliament,* your majesty's presence, and the advice and endeavours of your majesty's faithful servants, will easily accommodate. Let your majesty be pleased to express your favour and care of your subjects' weal, by giving way to any just motion of theirs for relief of the burdens these late troubles have laid upon them, or by granting what else may tend to their good, which your majesty may do with assurance that therein is included your own.

" *Suffer them not to meddle or dispute of your power,*†—it is an instrument never subjects yet handled well. Let not your authority receive any diminution of that which the law of God and nature, and the fundamental laws of the country alloweth : For then it shall grow contemptible,—and weak and miserable is that people whose prince hath not power sufficient to punish oppression, and to maintain peace and justice. On the other side, aim not at absoluteness : It endangers your estate and stirs up troubles : The people of the western parts of the world could never endure it any long time, and they of Scotland less than any. Hearken not to Rehoboam's councilors,—they are flatterers and therefore cannot be friends,—they follow your *fortune*, and love not your person,—pretend what they will, their hasty ambition and avarice make them persuade an absolute government, that the exercise of the same may be put upon them, and then they know how to get wealth,—‡

* * * * *

" Practise, sir, the temperate government. It fitteth the humour and disposition of the nation best. It is most strong, most powerful, and most durable of any. It gladdeth the heart of your subjects, and then they erect a throne there for

* The convention of June 1640, in which Montrose disputed against the democratic party.

† A most important advice, as we shall find, referring to the determination of the covenanting faction to rob the king of his prerogative of dispensing the offices of state.

‡ There is here a hiatus of about two lines in the manuscript, which appears to have suffered from fire.

you to reign,—*firmissimum imperium quo obedientes gaudent*.* Let your *last act* there be the settling the offices of state upon men of known integrity and sufficiency. Take them not upon credit, and other men's recommendation,—they prefer men for *their own ends* and with respect to *themselves*. Neither yet take them at hazard, but upon your own knowledge, which fully reacheth to a great many more than will fill those few places. Let them not be such as are obliged to others than yourself for their preferment,—not *factionous* nor *popular*, neither such as are *much hated* ; for these are not able to serve you well, and the others are not willing, if it be prejudice to those upon whom they depend. They who are preferred, and obliged to your majesty, will study to behave them well and dutifully in their places, if it were for no other reason, yet for this, that they make not your majesty ashamed of your choice. So shall your majesty secure your authority for the present, and settle it for the future time,—your journey shall be prosperous, your return glorious,—you shall be followed with the blessings of your people, and with that contentment which a virtuous deed reflecteth upon the mind of the doer,—and more true and solid shall your glory be than if you had conquered nations, and subdued a people.

————— Pax una, triumphis
Innumeris potior."†

* That government is the most stable under which the subjects are happy.

† One peace is worth a thousand victories.

To the foregoing illustrations of the principles by which Montrose and his friends were actuated in their opposition to the dominant Covenanters, must be added an unpublished essay, written by him at the same period, on the subject of sovereign power, and put in the form of a letter to a friend. As this very interesting production is of considerable length, I have transferred it to the Appendix. The foregoing letter being in Lord Napier's handwriting might seem to have been his composition ; it will be seen, however, that Montrose's letter is very similar, and, indeed, identical in some of the sentences. Most probably both letters were their joint compositions.

CHAPTER VI.

Nature and Object of the covenanting Processes against "Incendiaries"—The Lord Advocate declines to prosecute at the Command of the covenanting Government—Extract from his Diary on the Subject—His disturbed Dreams—Montrose's Conference with the Ministers of Perth—Explains the Nature of his Opposition to the dominant Covenanters—Secret Correspondence of Archibald Johnston with his covenanting Compatriots—Montrose's Conversations with the Ministers of Perth brought before the Committee at Edinburgh—Secret Letter to Archibald Johnston from Sir Thomas Hope, jun.—History of the Proceedings against Montrose from the private Records of the Committee—Noble Bearing of Montrose and complete Justification of himself—Fate of his Informer, John Stewart of Ladywell—Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and denounced as Plotters—Covenanting Government aware of the baseless Nature of the Charge against them—Lord Napier's Account of the Attempt of the Committee to separate him from Montrose—Farther History of the factious Proceedings against Montrose and his Friends—The King arrives in Scotland—Death and Character of Rothes—Scottish Parliament of 1641—Charles compelled to reward his Enemies—Terms of the Release of Montrose and his Friends.

At the very outset of their career, the leading Covenanters established the most powerful engine of their revolt, namely, criminal processes, devoid of every shadow of justice, concocted and matured by their own partisans, and brought before their own lawless conventions. The pursuit of "Incendiaries" quickly succeeded the hue and cry after bishops, and the use of this term was one of the arts whereby the insurgents *prejudged* individuals obnoxious to them, but against whom there was in reality no case. All men of any weight in the country, who would not co-operate with the faction, every servant of the king that would not aid their views, were liable to be

denounced as incendiaries, and to be tried by a committee of the covenanting parliament, where the secret influence of Argyle was omnipotent. Moreover, the royal prerogative of mercy was suspended, and the king's right to fill up the vacant places, occasioned by such disqualifications, was demanded as the privilege of that same democratical government. Among the many mischievous acts passed in the session of 1640, there was one of whose real object we are informed by Sir James Balfour, at that time (though he afterwards saw reason to change his views) a keen Covenanter. "Seventeenth act; against *leasing-makers*, of whatsoever quality, office, place, or dignity; this act was made *purposely to catch* Traquair, the *Treasurer*; Sir John Hay, *Clerk-Register*; Sir Robert Spottiswood, *President of the Session*; Maxwell, *Bishop of Ross*; and others who, by *rantring and lying*, had done much mischief to the kingdom." But all these persecutions and animosities the excellent king was still willing to bury under an act of oblivion. The Covenanters professed that they entertained the same desire; practically, however, they insisted that the act now mentioned should expressly justify all their proceedings, virtually condemn his majesty, and, in particular, that it should except such of his servants as they might select, as examples of their vengeance. Nay, when Charles, exasperated at their tyrannical demands, replied, that if they had determined upon excepting Traquair and others from this act of oblivion, he, on his part, would except some of themselves,—Archibald Johnston and his allies, conscious upon whom such exception ought to fall, exclaimed against the equivalent as downright injustice.

It will be remembered that Sir Thomas Hope, in his Diary, records his private opinion of the motives of Rothes and others, and how, in the most earnest manner, he deprecated the headlong progress of democracy, and disclaimed all participation in measures dictated by private enmity and selfish ambition. The advocate was now to be put to the test by these covenanting chiefs; and his anomalous position appears at this time to have

weighed heavily on his mind. Upon the 5th of January 1641, he notes (and, contrary to his usual habit, in Latin), that, "On the night which followed this day, I had a horrible dream. Methought they were leading me from a dungeon, accused of high treason; but I fled from them and escaped. To God be all the glory. I had previously another disturbed dream on the 2d of January 1641. It was as if I had been arrested amid the thick darkness of a prison-vault. But my own cries awakened me, calling upon God to help me."*

Early in the following month of February this passage occurs in his Diary,—“Item, This night, about six hours, I had a letter from the committee, delivered to me by George Halden, with two bills, to be subscribed, for pursuing the Earl of Traquair, Clerk-Register, President, D. Balcanquill, Earl of Nithisdale, Sir Archibald Stewart, and others; and, by the 13th of April next to hear and see them forfeited, and punished for the crimes of malversation.† And I excused my-

* “5 Jan. 1641. Hujus diei nocte insequente, insomne horribile,—quasi reus majestatis incusatus, de carceribus [a word illegible]. Sed perfugio—evasi. Deo sit omnis gloria. Fuit et aliud insomne ante, 2 Jan. 1641, quasi in densa caligine interceptus in petrocclariis. Sed meo clamore evigilavi,—Deum invocans in mei auxilium.”

† The “pursuit of incendiaries” (so the conservative statesmen of the day were designed) was a measure devised and urged chiefly by the Procurator of the Kirk, Archibald Johnston, whose secret correspondence on the subject, when with the committee in London, 1640-1, is very curious. He was exceedingly ingenious in *making* a case against any one whom he wanted to destroy. The origin of those directions, which even the covenanting advocate at first refused to obey, is made very manifest by a secret letter from Archibald Johnston to Balmerino, dated at London, 2d December 1640, two months previous to the note in the advocate’s Diary. Johnston expresses his anxiety to know “whether the Clerk-Register and President be cited,—who have been damnable incendiaries, even at this time to hinder all agreeance while all others were dealing for it,—and *what can be laid to their charge*. Ye should be diligent, if it can be gotten done on a sudden, to *collect Traquair’s malversation*, either in his late commission, or in his office. Mr Adam [Hepburn of Humble] can help you in this. For aught I see, *an ye give us not strict directions*, we will let Traquair, Clerk-Register, and the President, slip through our

self, that I could not do it without his majesty's warrant ; and wrote a letter to that effect, whereof the copy is within the letter sent me by the committee. Item, immediately I wrote to James Philp, to direct a packet to court, wherein, on 10th of February, being Wednesday, I show the letters to me from the committee, with my answer ; and delivered him a packet to the Laird of Panmure, within which is a letter from the Countess of Marshal. Item, my answer anent the pursuit of the Earl of Traquair, that I was resolved not to do it, without his majesty's warrant. Item, after the writing of my letter, which I desired to be read to his majesty, is the post-script anent the letter written to me from the committee, with my answer.

" Item, on this 13th of February, packet sent by me to the Earl of Lanerick, in which was a letter to himself, anent the proceedings in the summons of treason against Earl of Traquair and others. And a packet to the Laird of Panmure, wherein a letter to be shown to his majesty anent my behaviour in the summons of treason ; and bearing that, if the time were proper, I would supplicate his majesty for redress of my losses, and my son Mr Alexander ; but, in respect of the time, will wait on better."

fingers, and return to their places, to over-rule all ; and God knows if that will either be to the honour or peace of the kingdom. *Let not this meet me here again.*"—*Orig. MS. Advoc. Lib.*

Yet even in the April following, the same agitator seemed to think that a sufficient case was not made up against Traquair and the Register. Upon the 22d of April 1641, he writes : " I would request you, with the *greatest secrecy that can be*, to cause try if all the honours and registers were left in the castle that ever had been in it, or, if any of them be wanting, if Traquair and the Clerk-Register have taken them away. This were a fact of clear treason in the judgment of all ; and I suspect they be guilty of some such thing ; but it should be kept close, without revealing, *till the very day of his compearance.*" A curious case of treason, that the High-Treasurer and Clerk-Register, in times when the castle was continually stormed by insurgents and rebels, had provided for the safety of the regalia and records, which it was their official duty to preserve.

About the end of this same month of February 1641, while his majesty's advocate, ridden by the night-hag of treason,

— " Eat his meals in fear,* and slept
In the affliction of those terrible dreams
That shook him nightly,"—

Montrose was still in Scotland, devising what means he could to stem the fast-rising tide of democracy. He appears at this time to have been annoyed and irritated by the calumnies industriously spread abroad against himself, on the subject of the bond which had been destroyed, and with regard to the real objects of which the community were wilfully misled by the more factious portion of the clergy. The pulpits of Scotland were now perverted to such purposes. " The chair of truth," to quote the severe remark of Spalding, " is now made ane mercat cross, and the preacher an officer for making of proclamations." Nay, it soon became the means of inflaming the bewildered public with the most violent invectives against the loyal,—*"detestable speeches, unmeet to be uttered by a minister out of the chair of verity."* And Montrose, in his letter on the sovereign power, enumerates, among the worst evils of the democratic agitation, that " honour, life, fortunes, stand at the discretion of a seditious preacher," who, again is " abused by the nimble-witted noblemen."

About the beginning of March 1641, the earl sent for the most influential clergymen in his own neighbourhood, in order to explain the true motives of his conduct, and to remonstrate with them on the calumnies whispered against him. These

* The advocate occasionally performed a kind of penance at his meals, according to the following entry in his Diary : " *Vow.* This day I vowed to my Lord humility, patience, abstinence, sobriety ; and not to eat but one kind of meat at dinner ; and not above two drinks of wine. The Lord give me grace to perform it." He appears to have suffered a good deal in mind from his anomalous position. On Sunday, 23d May 1641, he notes : " Communion in Cramond, where, at table, being in great anxiety, I received this comfort : ' *My grace is sufficient for ye.*' For which I blessed the Lord."

were Mr Robert Murray minister of Methven, and Mr John Robertson one of the ministers of Perth, who met with him in a public-house in that town, when the following dialogue occurred, which is here extracted verbatim from the original deposition made by Murray before the committee.

MONTROSE commenced the conference, by complaining that this minister had been for some time past very unwilling to meet with him, and had shown a disposition to shun his presence :—

MURRAY.—“ Your lordship has been taken up with much company, and I was loath to come, except to meet with your lordship in private.”

MONTROSE.—“ You were an instrument of bringing me to this cause. I am calumniated and slandered as a backslider in this cause, and I am desirous to give you, and all honest men, satisfaction respecting my conduct therein.”

MURRAY.—“ Why did your lordship subscribe the bond that was contrary to the Covenant ?”

MONTROSE.—“ It was not contrary to the Covenant, it was for the Covenant.”

MURRAY.—“ Why was it done in private ! Any bond that had been for the Covenant might have been avowed.”*

MONTROSE.—“ We saw some few particular men taking some particular courses, contrary to the cause and the Covenant ; and, therefore, we behoved to strengthen ourselves, for the maintenance of the cause and Covenant, by that bond.”

MURRAY.—“ How does that appear ?”

MONTROSE.—“ There are some few upon courses for changing the form of government. There has been a motion for deposing the king. Next, there was a motion for setting up a Dictator ;

* It was signed, among others, by the second in command of the covenanting army ; and Montrose would have been happy if the whole country had signed it. To have proclaimed his intentions more openly than he did, would have been to enable Argyle at once to crush the attempt,—which indeed that potentate did the moment he knew of it, by denouncing it to the committee, with whom his word was law, and to those of the clergy who agitated from the pulpit.

and; that failing, there was another motion for placing a general within the country, as there is one without the country. This was left, and another course taken for making a triumvirate, one to rule all be-north Forth, and two be-south Forth."

MURRAY.—"These things seem very strange, for we have neither heard, thought, nor dreamed of any such thing, and there is no likelihood thereof."

MONTROSE.—"It is true. And to accomplish the last point, there was a bond offered to me at Chowaly Wood, before the army crossed Tweed, to be subscribed, for establishing a particular man be-north Forth, by which the subjects were to be obliged in fidelity and fealty; but I refused to subscribe it, and would rather die than do it. These particulars are of my own knowledge; but there are ten or twelve others who will bear me witness; and for all I have now said, there will be some one or other to prove it, or take it off my hands. Argyle was the man named to rule be-north Forth, and it was he who discoursed of deposing the king."

MURRAY.—"These things are strange—I cannot believe them—they seem to be very unlikely."

MONTROSE.—"I might accuse them. But I will not do it, until first I have cleared myself before the parliament and assembly."

MURRAY.—"You are all agreed now in Edinburgh, and I beseech you to keep unity; for the breach thereof is a mean to do most harm to this cause."

MONTROSE.—"I shall do nothing to prejudice *the Cause*, but will maintain the same with life and means."

MURRAY.—"Was it or not your lordship's intention, that the parliament should meet in November [1640], in order to reverse the acts of parliament made in June last;* or at least

* This was the parliament in which Archibald Johnston says, that Montrose disputed against Argyle, Rothes, and their party. Having been constrained, however, to subscribe the proceedings of that convention, he appears to have considered himself bound to maintain them as law.

to call them in question, that so his majesty might get a ground of complaint against these acts, to our commissioners, who are endeavouring to obtain their publication in his majesty's name?"

MONTROSE.—"I desired the parliament to have sat, but not for that end; it was, that they might have added some to the committee; for many able men are left out, who might strengthen the committee if they were in it."

MURRAY.—"Had you no purpose to question those acts?"

MONTROSE.—"I had not, for I subscribed them, and I would maintain them with my blood."

Montrose at this time was living with Lord Stormont, at Scone, where he had desired these clergymen to meet him, but they preferred having the conference in Perth. He now requested the reverend gentlemen to accompany him to the Abbey, which they declined doing that night, but agreed to meet him there next day.

"On the morrow," continues the reverend Robert Murray, in his deposition before the Committee of Estates, "being Tuesday, the deponer came to Scone, and waiting on awhile, in respect the earl was speaking with the Earl of Athol and Mr John Stewart [of Ladywell], some of his friends attending beside, one told the earl that the deponer was there. So the earl came himself, and entered on the same discourse that he and the deponer were on before. The deponer showed *that God had put in his heart* a just answer thereto. The earl repeated what he had said the night before anent the change of government,* whereupon the deponer gave this answer:—

MURRAY.—"Howsoever I believe not any such motion to have been, yet I think, if any such has been, they have been conditional, and not absolute, but only in case of unavoidable extremities, looking to the weal of the country, and government thereof in cases of necessity; and their practice proves that it was but conditional (if any such was), because now,

* The monarchical form of government.

when the king is content to go on with them to the treaty, they go on sweetly seeking peace."

MONTROSE.—"It was not conditional but absolute; and, therefore, they are seeking conditions that are contrary to the Covenant; because we have sworn *not to entrench upon the king's prerogative*. They are seeking more than the letter sent to the Earl of Lanerick contains, wherein they had declared they would seek only these articles contained in the said letter; for now they desire that officers of state, council and session, should be chosen by the parliament."

MURRAY.—"These are all good things if they can be obtained; but our folks do not stand upon them so that they would break the peace if they did not obtain them; though, these things being for the good of the commonweal, *licet cuiuslibet supplicare et mendicare*."

MONTROSE.—"They are seeking them absolutely, or *no peace*; in token whereof, the commissioners had written that 'their name would stink if they sought them,' and the committee have written back, that the commissioners should not pass from these demands without the advice of the committee."

MURRAY.—"These demands may well stand with the condition;* because if they find they cannot obtain them, they will pass from them. But how could your lordship think that your bond was for the Covenant, since, upon the hearing of it, the king had made a halt with the commissioners of the treaty!"

MONTROSE.—"The king had got knowledge of the bond by some speeches of the late Lord Boyd, which were reported to the commissioners, and by them to the English, and so it came to his majesty's ears."

The deposition goes on to say, that at this point of the conversation, "the earl was desired to come to his dinner. Then the deponer entreated his lordship to unity."

* The condition not to entrench upon the king's prerogative.

MONTROSE.—“ I love unity ; and I will clear myself before the parliament and General Assembly.”

MURRAY.—“ That will hinder the settling of the common cause.”

MONTROSE.—“ I shall do it in such a way as cannot wrong the public ; I shall not make my challenge till the public business is settled, and then I shall put it off myself, and lay it on those who have calumniated me.”

“ This conference ended, the earl went to dinner, and the deponer went to Perth ; and that same day Mr John Graham came to the deponer, and said to him, ‘ My lord and you was hot ;’ the deponer answered, ‘ I was not hot, but plain, and my lord has taken all well.’ ” *

Thus Montrose, with indiscreet candour, had prematurely disclosed his intentions, as well as his opinions of the policy of Rothes, Argyle, and the zealots of the kirk, to these partisans, by whom it was cunningly promulgated ; and thus a pretext was obtained for commencing another process against him. Murray first repeated what had passed to John Graham, the minister of Auchterarder, and was soon besieged with interrogatories on the subject by others of the clergy. He proceeds to depone that “ Mr David Drummond and Mr George Mushet, ministers, having heard that he had spoken with the earl, asked how he was satisfied. The deponer replied, that he *loved not to speak of that purpose* ; but that they might know how he was satisfied, he said, ‘ I shall *tell you the story*, and judge you yourselves *how I am satisfied* ;’ and thereafter related to them the sum of the conference above deponed.” Through these channels the matter soon reached the ears of the committee, who called Murray before them, as will presently appear.

In order to appreciate the respective opinions now disclosed, of Montrose and the reverend gentlemen, as to the state of

* Orig. Depos. MS. Advoc. Lib.

affairs and the objects of the movement, it will be necessary to recur to the secret correspondence, already referred to, of the chief organ of the covenanting commissioners in London, Archibald Johnston.

This active agent was enraged as well as alarmed at the prospect that Traquair, and the other distinguished objects of his resentment, would probably escape from his toils, owing to the scruples of justice and loyalty which yet affected the conscience of his majesty's advocate for Scotland, and even of some of the commissioners.* With the exception of Argyle, Rothes, Johnston himself, and the covenanting clergy, neither the commissioners for the treaty, nor the committee at Edinburgh, were inclined to urge their vindictive purposes to a desperate and violent extremity. But the procurator worked indefatigably for his party, and that, too, with a disregard of every Christian feeling and principle of honour (as his secret correspondence proves) which is scarcely conceivable. There is preserved, among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library, the contemporary transcript of a "Letter from the Commissioners at London, to the General [Leslie] and Committees at Edinburgh and Newcastle," dated 16th June 1641; and "subscribed by all the commissioners;"—of whom Archibald Johnston was one. In that communication, the following sentence occurs:—

"There are daily arguments and reasons given in, in his majesty's name, that the Act of Oblivion may be general, without reservation or exception of any person whomsoever, which *we do always oppose*. Yet we cannot but show your lordships that you have laid a very hard and difficult charge

* In his letter to Balmerino, of the 2d December 1640, Johnston writes:—"Give us strict directions anent demanding Traquair and Bacanquel (whom the estates in the narrative of their acts have specified, and in effect condemned, with clerk-register and president) to be sent home to prison to suffer justice. A direction of this kind would keep us in peace among ourselves," &c. Again, he writes in April 1641,—"Command us to be resolved, in this pursuit, against all boasts and threatenings,"—*Orig. MS. Advoc. Lib.*

upon us, in *commanding* us to maintain, that none cited to the parliament can be passed from, but that the Act of Oblivion be general for all men, and all faults, *upon the one side*, and that the noblemen, and considerable gentlemen who have adhered to the King, shall be under the lash and hazard of the parliament's censure. But we are resolved closely to adhere to your directions and instructions, and maintain them with the *best reason we can*."

Such was the remonstrance subscribed by all the commissioners, of which number were Rothes and Johnston. Yet we have seen, from the advocate's Diary, that the former had savagely declared, that no concessions of the king, on the subject of religion and liberties, would satisfy him, until he had "justice on Traquair," and had erased his name and memory from the earth; and the secret letters of Johnston to Balmerino, dated in the months of December 1640, and March and April 1641,* show that the leaders of the committee in Edinburgh had got the most earnest instructions from him in his official capacity, that they should lay the very commands upon himself, and the other commissioners in England, against which they *remonstrated* in the month of June immediately following!

The particular directions given in this secret correspondence, to have an eye upon Montrose, and to "*think what to do*" with him in Scotland, were not thrown away. The procurator had the satisfaction of receiving the following letter from his friend Sir Thomas Hope, younger, dated Edinburgh, 7th of June 1641.

"WORTHY BROTHER,

"We had many strange business in hand here this last

* The letters here alluded to will be found at full length in the Illustrations of Montrose and the Covenanters, published in 1838. The originals are preserved among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library, and afford an illustration of the secret machinery of the Covenant, which had not been sufficiently attended to.

week. They began at Mr John Graham, minister of Auchterarder, who was called to give an account of some speeches spoken in that presbytery, and gave Mr Robert Murray for his authority. Mr Robert gave the *Earl of Montrose* for his, and Montrose declared that he had the same partly from Mr John Stewart of Ladywell, and partly from my Lord Lindsay. Mr John Stewart being sent for and examined, made a terrible calumnious relation, of some speeches which he alleged were spoken by the Earl of Argyle at his expedition in Athol, of no less moment than the deposing of the king. He confessed he gave a copy of his relation to the Earl of Montrose, and another to Walter Stewart (*my man*),* to be given to the Earl of Traquair. Walter was happily rancountered, upon Friday, betwixt Cokburn's Path and Haddington, by one who was *sent expressly to meet him*, and conveyed to Balmerino's lodgings at nine o'clock at night, where I was the first man that came in after him, about some other business with my lord. After he denied he had any more papers than were in his cloth-bag, there was a leather-bag found in the pannel of his saddle, wherein was a letter *from the king to Montrose*,—a letter to himself [Stewart], written from Colonel Cochrane, at Newcastle, to London, and a signature of the chamberlanrie of the Bishop of Dunkeld to Mr John Stewart, with a blank for a pension, but not signed by the king's hand. After many shifts, being convinced by some notes under his own hand, which were found in his pocket (and which, with astonishment, he swore he thought had not been in the world), he *was brought to promise plain dealing*, and deponed, as ye will find in the papers sent to Humby. But, I believe, he has not *dealt truly* in all the points. Specially, I doubt the interpretation of A. B. C., by which he says are meant *the Banders*,† and of the viper in the king's bosom, by which he means

* Meaning, "the man who reported my conversation on the subject of the trial and deposition of kings."

† That is, Montrose and those who signed the conservative bend.

Canterbury, which *I believe not*. I will not touch any more of the particulars, because you will find them in the copies of the papers. Mr John Stewart has since confessed his knavery in the general, but has not yet cleared the particulars.* The point for the which Montrose alleges Lindsay's authority is not yet cleared. It was concerning the *Dictator*, whom he alleges should have been *Argyle*, as he then said *positive*, in his declaration, my Lord Lindsay named him. But since he heard Lindsay, he says he *believes* he did name him, at the *least* he conceives he meant him,—and he refers to his oath [as to whether he did mean him]. I think it shall resolve in nothing, or a *very little something*. I believe this business shall prove deeper than yet is found, for the *Lord it seems will have all these ways brought to light*.† I have no other thing that I remember for the present, which I know you have not heard; and the most part of this, if not all, you will have from others. But a *good tale* twice told is tolerable. I remain, as ever, your real friend to be commanded,

“Edin^r. 7 June 1641.”

“A. B.”

“P. S. Walter Stewart has craved a pardon for the wrong he did me, and has set down the words which past betwixt us, under his hand, whereof I have sent the authentic copy to my brother, which you may have from him if ye desire to see it.”‡

* For a good reason,—he had to consider *what particulars* were most likely to save him from the fangs of Argyle and the committee-government of Scotland.

† These two sentences, which at first sight appear to contradict each other, are very characteristic. They mean that the allegation against *Argyle* would turn out to be no high treason at all, or only a *very little high treason*; but as for the suspicion against *Montrose*, that would be verified in the discovery of a deep plot brought to light by the Lord.

‡ It is remarkable that this letter, fixing so precisely the fact of intercepting the king's messenger to Montrose, should not have been hitherto observed, even by Lord Hailes when examining the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library in reference to the history of the period. Wodrow, who has preserved it amongst his voluminous manuscript collections, was not aware that the writer was Sir Thomas

Mr John Graham, the minister of Auchterarder, had been called before the committee at Edinburgh to answer for certain reports made by him to his own presbytery (with what intentions does not appear) relating to the conduct of Argyle, and the existing government of Scotland. He had been desired to state his authority for these reports, and he immediately named his friend the minister of Methven. At this meeting of the committee, Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie presided, and both Montrose and Argyle were present. By a convenient coincidence, if not privately arranged, "Mr Robert Murray, minister at Methven, being come to Edinburgh upon Wednesday at night, upon other occasions, was called off the streets upon Thursday, the 27th day of May instant, to compare before the Committee of Estates; and having appeared before them, was told by their lordships, that Mr John Graham, minister of Auchterarder, being examined by their lordships upon the author of his speeches which he spake before the presbytery of Auchterarder, gave up the said Mr Robert as his author."

Murray, turning to the incumbent of Auchterarder, requested to know why he should be referred to as the sole authority for that which he understood Graham had heard from more quarters than one. The latter, however, persisted in appealing to the minister of Methven. "I wish the committee," said Murray, "to urge Mr John to condescend upon other authors, for I am loath to depone in this business." It was the fearless Montrose who now brought the matter to a crisis. "Come," said he, "Mr Robert, declare without more ado; you know you may soon put the matter off your own hands."

Hope. He calls it (in his index to the volume of his MSS., where it occurs) a letter to Wariston from *his brother*; probably because it commences "worthy brother." But Hope and Johnston were brother lawyers, and brother factionists, and brother fanatics. That Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the Lord Advocate's second son, was the writer of this letter, is proved by his referring in the postscript to the scandal raised against him by Walter Stewart.

To which the latter rejoined : "Then it is your lordship must take it off my hands ; therefore, my lord, tell your part, and I shall tell mine." "No," replied the earl, "I desire *you* to declare."* The minister of Methven then requested to see the declarations which had been emitted by his brother of Auchterarder ; and, upon this being refused, he proceeded in that deposition, which has been already quoted, detailing the conversations held with Montrose at Perth and Scone.

Immediately afterwards Montrose himself was subjected to the interrogatories of this committee. He admitted, without the slightest hesitation, and with the most perfect command of temper, the substance of Murray's deposition. Moreover, he declared, that four circumstances in particular had induced him to attempt the conservative bond at Cumbernauld : "First, there was the intention to create a Dictator ; and although I did not implicitly rely upon the evidence offered me of that, yet I considered it incumbent on me to think of all means to prevent it. My next reason was, that I heard of various bonds pressed upon the country, of different tenors indeed, but all of them intended to tie the subjects in subjection to particular persons. My third reason was because of an intention to canton the country. And my fourth reason was a discourse related to me, to this effect, that at the sitting of the parliament in June last it was intended to depose the king ; and that, although the matter was then postponed, it would be the first act of the ensuing session. Moreover, my relater added, that it was said to have been resolved, by lawyers and divines, that there were grounds in law for such a measure ; to wit, selling, deserting, or invading the country."

Such, as taken down from his own lips at the time, by his enemies, were the causes that induced Montrose to endeavour to counteract the dominant party in Scotland, which had already degenerated into an interested and oppressive faction. It was

* Orig. Record MS. Advoc. Lib.

under the influence of these well-grounded suspicions that he now stood for the throne. How anxiously he had been led to ponder the philosophy of good government, by the alarm thus communicated to his patriotic spirit, and how prophetically, even at this early crisis, he had pointed to the approaching reign of terror, will be seen from his letter on sovereign power. The nature of his secret advice to the king has been also disclosed, from the private papers of his most intimate friend. We find there no calumnious reports, no passionate invectives, no attempt secretly to injure the characters even of those noblemen against whom he had such just grounds of resentment. In the language of a gentleman, a patriot, and a Christian,—in expressions devoid of blasphemy to God, or hypocrisy to man,* he earnestly and eloquently refers to the evil signs of the times, and urges the presence of Charles in Scotland, as necessary to disperse the storms of faction. The impeachment of traitors, and the defence of his own character, he left for the proper time and place. Before his sovereign in parliament, and in the face of his countrymen, he was prepared to accuse the guilty, and to vindicate himself, when the public security should be accomplished.

But to return to the proceedings of the committee on Thursday, 27th of May 1641.

* Compare Montrose's language with such expressions as these, in the secret letters of the Procurator of the Kirk :—

"This day the parliament is to fall to our demands, and to get us money. God is going on in some hid way for his Son's crown."

"The lower house has give up their bill,—grows daily stouter,—will not rise,—*will have Strafford's life*,—are thinking on *moneys for us*. This in post haste. Lord encourage and direct them !"

"Remember me to good Mr Hary [Rollock], who, I know, will think with myself,—who was aye said to be blythe at *evil news*,—that business is going in *God's old way*."

Referring to the prospect of the Scotch commissioners and the army being able to leave England, he says,—“But who knows if *God will come in, in the ploy*, when we go to end.” Again, “But the Lord, who doeth his own work in his own way, *seems to turn the chase*,” i. e. against Strafford in parliament.

When Montrose had thus boldly expressed his sentiments, the delicate question was put,—in the presence of “Gillespie Gruamach” himself,—whether he had named the Earl of Argyle! “I did name the Earl of Argyle,” he replied; “I named Argyle as the man who was to rule be-north Forth, and as the man who discoursed of deposing the king. I am not the author or inventor of those things,—I will lay it down at the right door. What I told Mr Robert Murray was, that there were some of the particulars of my statement consistent with my own knowledge; that there were ten or twelve others who would bear me witness, and that, with regard to all which I asserted, there would be some one to prove or to take it off my hands.” The committee then required him to produce his author. “Since I am desired to do so,” said Montrose, “and having named the Earl of Argyle, which I was forced to do, I have to request that he now express his own knowledge of this business.” The answer, which this courteous appeal elicited, is thus noted by the clerk of that committee.

“The Earl of Argyle answered, that he thought it incumbent to clear himself, and would do it [imme]di[at]ely if] the committee would appoint him. The Earl of Argyle, by his oath unrequired, declared that [he had never] heard of such a matter, and would make it good that [the person] who would say that he was the man spoke of deposi[ng the king, or] of his knowledge of these bonds, was a liar, and a base * * *.”†

Montrose, nothing daunted by this tirade, composedly repeat-

† The manuscript is destroyed by damp in those places where I have conjecturally supplied the vacancies. The last epithet applied by Argyle must be left to the imagination of the reader. The contrast, betwixt the coolness and dignity of Montrose, and the violence of his opponent, is characteristic, and reminds us of what Clarendon says of the latter,—“He was a man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his estate and authority, a very great interest in Scotland; yet he had no martial qualities, nor the reputation of more courage than *insolent and imperious persons*, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.”—*Hist.* v. 92.

ed his four reasons for the bond at Cumbernauld. Of the dictatorship, he said, he was unwilling to speak more, because his author was not present nor in town ; but, since they insisted upon it, he named Lord Lindsay as his informant ; and added, that he did not understand his lordship to state it as a positive fact, but only as a matter of likelihood or suspicion. He then proceeded to detail that conversation with Lindsay in Edinburgh which occurred before the army crossed the Tweed in August 1640, and which has been given in a previous chapter. With regard to Argyle's discourse on the subject of deposing the king, he stated that he received his information from Mr John Stewart, younger of Ladywell, who gave him the particulars in writing, and declared that this occurred in presence of Ogilvy of Inchmartin, Stewart of Grantully, and twenty or thirty gentlemen besides ; that some of the Athol people, and also Mr John Stewart, were his informants as to the bonds of fealty pressed upon the lieges in that part of Scotland ; and that some of them were urged in the name of Argyle, some of them by Argyle himself, and the rest by his adherents, the Lairds of Lawers, Glenurquhy, and Comrey. As for encantoning the country, he declared that Archibald Campbell was present at the drawing up of the commission for the rule beyond the Forth, and had objected that Montrose's name was omitted in reference to a district comprehending his barony of Kincardine and other territorial possessions. For the precise terms of the bond, he referred the committee to the Earls of Mar and Cassilis, Archibald Campbell, and Mr Adam Hepburn ; but, so far as his own recollection of its tenor went, Argyle was named either absolute general, or general commander, and the other noblemen, mentioned in the bond, were to be his committee.

Montrose baffled the covenanting inquisitors upon this occasion, as he had done before, by his own undaunted bearing, and perfect truth and presence of mind. His conversation with Lindsay, that nobleman himself (as we have already seen) was constrained substantially to admit, and thereby placed in

an awkward predicament. The earl had affirmed that he named Argyle as the person who was to be Dictator, and this last had volunteered his great oath that the whole was a foul calumny. The committee were perplexed and annoyed; for Lindsay, the brother-in-law of the Marquis of Hamilton, was a "prime Covenanter." This nobleman, too, when subsequently examined, could not or would not recollect that he had named Argyle. But, "the Earl of Montrose affirmed that the Lord Lindsay named the Earl of Argyle to be Dictator;" and that positive affirmation is not, under all the circumstances, to be doubted.* Of the bond for encantoning the country, of which Montrose could speak from his own knowledge, and for the tenor of which he referred to others who knew it also, *no more was ever said or heard*. Argyle never proposed, as his antagonist did, to clear himself or to impeach the guilty in presence of parliament. But, to his own subservient committee, he swore passionate oaths; and, "the Earl of Montrose and Lord Lindsay being removed, the Earl of Argyle desired to speak; who said, that since his lordship's name was mentioned in the same, he *desired* he might *be made*


* Cassilis, Balmerino, and Napier, were appointed to take the depositions of Montrose and Lindsay, as to this conversation, and endeavour to reconcile them. The result was what has been already given at p. 132. That Lindsay could have no one in view but Argyle, when he thus suggested the plan of a Dictator, is most obvious; and there is every reason to believe, from Montrose's recollection on the subject, that Argyle was really named. The committee's anxiety on the subject was owing to this, that, as the grand object was to bring Montrose under the covenanting statutes of leasing-making, it was necessary to deprive him of all authority for what he had uttered, and also to keep Lindsay out of the same predicament. The deliverance of the Committee of Estates, upon the depositions reported by Cassilis, Balmerino, and Napier, is rather clumsy:—"At Edinburgh, 7 June 1641. The Committee having considered the Earl of Montrose and the Lord Lindsay their declarations, and having compared them together, find, *that as it is possible* the Earl of Montrose *has mistaken* the Lord Lindsay's expression, so they find, by the words which the Lord Lindsay remembers and has set down under his hand, that there was *no ground for the said misconception*.—Sir A. GIBSON, I.P.D."

clear of any thing that may reflect upon him." This potentate obtained his acquittal on the spot. "The committee found that the same did noways concern the Earl of Argyle, since none of them had said that the Earl of Argyle had any such intention, or was accessory to any such motion."

Having illustrated so much of this secret history, from the original manuscripts of the Committee of Estates yet extant, the thread of the narrative may be now taken up from the contemporary records of Guthry and Spalding.

The former says,—“Lest Montrose’s enemies should have dealt with Mr John Stewart to withdraw, and leave him in the hazard, he posted quickly away some gentlemen to Mr John, with whom he came to Edinburgh upon the 30th of May; and upon the morrow appeared before the committee, and subscribed a paper bearing all that Montrose had affirmed in his name. Whereupon Argyle broke out into a passion, and with great oaths denied the *whole and every part* thereof; whereat *many wondered*.” Spalding thus narrates the result: “Argyle causes charge Mr John Stewart to compare before the committee to answer for these speeches, who indeed obeyed the charge, and appeared, and did abide by the speeches, saying to Argyle, ‘*My Lord, I heard you speak these words in Athol, in presence of a great many people, whereof you are in good memory.*’ Argyle answers, saying, while he was in Athol he found the Stewarts there against the subscribing of the Covenant; to whom he said, this Covenant was not against the king, but for religion and liberties of the kingdom, and if they would not subscribe the same it might breed themselves both peril and skaith; for if the body of the country would not go one way, but be divided against themselves, it were an highway to bring in the Englishmen into the land to dethrone the king, and bring the nobles under servitude and slavery. This he remembered to have said, but denied any further.”

However apt the committee were to adopt rumours and even private conversations as grounds of criminal process against any who opposed them, and although their articles of war made



it death to speak against the king or his authority, their inquisitorial jealousy seems not for an instant to have been directed against Argyle. No sooner, however, had John Stewart put his hand to the information he gave Montrose, than he was sent to prison.

This wretched man, whose fate was now sealed,* admitted that he had given a copy of the same statement to Walter Stewart before his last journey to court. The latter, accordingly, was seized on his return, searched and questioned, as described in Sir Thomas Hope's secret epistle to Archibald Johnston already quoted. Concealed in this messenger's saddle was found a letter from his majesty to Montrose. That nothing whatever could be made of this communication against the earl, is sufficiently proved by the fact that the contents were never even alluded to by the covenanting government; and considering the circumstances under which it was taken, it cannot be supposed that the persons in power remained ignorant of its contents. Most probably it was an official announcement of the king's intention to come in person to Scotland, in reply to the earnest advice from Montrose and Napier to that effect.† The extent of

* He was executed, at the inexorable fiat of Argyle, upon the 28th of July 1641, before the king arrived in Scotland. The full history of that cruel transaction, and of Argyle's part therein, will be found in the "Illustrations of Montrose and the Covenanters."

† Since the above conjecture was written, the following very interesting letter from Charles the First to Argyle, has, for the first time, been disclosed to the public :—

"ARGYLE,—I am informed that one Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, employed here (as it is said) by the Earl of Montrose, has deponed something of his dealing with Traquair, and that by him I should have given assurance‡ of disposing of some vacand places, to such persons as was joined in a late bond with the Earl of Montrose; thereby insinuating that my journey to Scotland was only desired and procured by Montrose and Traquair, and likewise that my intent therein is rather to make and further parties, than to receive from and give contentment to my subjects. Now since that (by the grace of God) I have

‡ "Should have given" is here used for "had given;" a mode of expression in frequent use at the period.

Walter Stewart's commission to court, from Montrose and his friends, has been already proved by Lord Napier's manu-

resolved of my journey to Scotland, it makes me the more curious [anxious] that my actions and intentions be not misconceived by my subjects there. Therefore, in the first place, I think fit to tell you, that I intend my journey to Scotland for the settling of the affairs of that kingdom according to the articles of the treaty, and in such a way as may establish the affections of my people fully to me ; and I am so far from intending division by my journey, that I mean so to establish peace in state, and religion in the church, that there may be a happy harmony amongst my subjects there. Secondly, *I never made any particular promise for the disposing of any places in that kingdom*, but mean to dispose them for the best advantage of my service ; and therein I hope to give satisfaction to my subjects. And as for my letter to Montrose, I do avow it, as fit for me to write, both for the *matter*, and for the *person to whom it is written*, who, for any thing I yet know, is *no ways unworthy of such a favour*. Thus having cleared my intentions to you as my particular servant,* I expect that, as occasion may serve, you may help to clear those mistakes of me which upon this occasion may arise. Lastly, For the preparation for my coming home, I do rather mention it to show the constant resolution of my journey, than in any doubt of your diligence therein : and so I rest,

" Your assured friend,

" CHARLES R.

" *Whitehall, the 12 of June 1641.*"

Thus it appears that the king himself had assured Argyle, under his hand, of the falsehood of Walter Stewart's depositions, and of the truth and innocence of Montrose. With that letter in his pocket,—which it does not appear that he ever communicated to parliament, or to the committees who examined Montrose, and detained him prisoner on false charges until the king had quitted Scotland,—Argyle's conduct to his illustrious rival is indefensible.—See "*Letters to the Argyle Family*," printed in 1839 by the present Duke of Argyle, and presented by his grace to the Maitland Club.

In the Napier charter-chest is the following letter to Lord Napier from Charles I. Probably the letter to Montrose was in the same or similar terms. It will be observed that the date is very shortly before the seizure of Walter Stewart :—

" *To our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, the Lord Napier.*

" CHARLES R.

" Right trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having fully resolved to repair unto that our kingdom, for holding of the parliament the 15th of July next,—that we may satisfy our good subjects of our

* Argyle was a Privy-councillor.

script note of it, corroborated by the terms of the draft of the letter to Charles. Some scraps of paper, scrawled over with ridiculous terms and hieroglyphics, as if state secrets in cipher, were discovered in his pockets; and these the few inquisitors, at whose mercy were the honour and lives of all who were not the friends of Argyle, were anxious to turn to account against Montrose. In the midst of the most palpable contradictions and prevarications, the statement was at length extorted from Stewart that these puerile mysteries were written in presence and by desire of our earl and his allies; that A, B, C, meant Montrose, Napier, and Stirling of Keir; and that the object of his mission, and the meaning of his obscure instructions was, that Traquair should induce the king to come forthwith to Scotland, and bestow the vacant offices of state upon the three persons just named. This absurd accusation, which afforded no sufficient grounds for sending these individuals to prison even had it been true, was most thoroughly disproved by the very endeavours of the committee to establish it. Montrose and his friends, including Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, who had been of the family party that met with Walter Stewart, were separately and most strictly examined. One and all declared precisely in terms of Lord Napier's private note as to what passed at those meetings, and also concurred in the most peremptory denial of the truth of Walter's depositions, or that

real intentions to settle all matters in a peaceable manner, as may most conduce for the weal of our kingdom,—so, having of late written unto our council there to meet and attend at Edinburgh to receive our further directions, we have likewise, out of the former experience we have had of your affection to our service, thought fit to require you to stay constantly there, for giving directions as you shall find necessary for our reception and entertainment, and to attend our further pleasure, as it shall from time to time be imparted unto you; and in the mean time that you advertise us back with your opinion what you find further requisite for this effect. Wherein expecting your ready care, we bid you farewell. From our court at Whitehall, the 20th May 1641."

he had obtained these ciphers from them, or any written instructions whatever. In addition to this consistent evidence, upon oath, of four of the highest minded men in Scotland, Traquair, the moment it was put to him, declared solemnly that these statements of his cousin and retainer Walter Stewart were false, at least in so far as he himself was concerned. In a defence of his conduct, a fragment of which has been preserved in manuscript among the papers in the Advocates' Library, this nobleman declares,—“Neither did I receive from Captain Stewart those instructions, alleged sent to me by the Earl of Montrose and Lord Napier, wherein, under the name of boasts and letters, as is alleged, they craved that the offices of state should be kept up; that the same should not be disposed of by advice of the Marquis of Hamilton; to assure the king that, religion and liberties being granted, he would crush all his opponents; to assure the duke and Traquair that Montrose would take them by the hand, and lead them through all difficulties; neither did I ever acquaint his majesty, neither yet reported to the said Walter that I had acquainted his majesty, therewith; neither had he any commission, or direction, or answer thereanent from me; and, as I believe these instructions were fancies of his own, so do I believe the ‘tablet’* to have been his own, which was never either helped or mended by me, or sent down by me.” And again, “But all this great structure is built upon so sandy a foundation as the characters, tablets, and depositions, made up by him who was ever known for a fool, or at least a timid half-witted body; and so, if chosen by the Lord Montrose and others for negotiating such deep plots as are alleged in my summons, they have been wonderfully mistaken in their choice. Neither can I be persuaded that, if they had been about any such plot or plots, men of their judgment and understanding could have been so far mistaken as to have made use of such a weak and foolish instrument.”

* The enigmatical answer which Walter Stewart pretended he had received from the king on the part of his majesty.

The king himself repeatedly declared, in corroboration of Traquair's solemn asseverations to the same effect, that no plotting or communication of the kind, said to have been deponed to by Walter Stewart, had occurred. Of this Charles assured the Scotch Commissioners upon "his trust and credit," and they wrote accordingly to the Committee of Estates before the king arrived in Scotland; accompanying, however, their report of his majesty's declaration with this audacious and childish comment:—"But it is not likely that Lieutenant-colonel Walter Stewart, his relation to the Earl of Traquair being considered, would to his prejudice have invented them."*

Had the covenanting government of Scotland, in the year 1641, been actuated by principles of common sense, honour, and honesty,—had they not been excited by such agents as Archibald Johnston, and such rulers as Rothes and Argyle,—the depositions of Stewart (which, even if true, proved nothing) would, upon a comparison of the separate declarations of Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, as well as of Traquair and the king himself, have been rejected with contempt. As it was, the earl and his three friends were sent, in a public and ignominious manner, to the castle of Edinburgh as state prisoners, and branded with the name of "the Plotters," while the community were kept in total ignorance of the real state of the case.

* Orig. MS. Advoc. Lib.—This argument was even put into the libel (consisting of twenty-six sheets) framed against Traquair, who thus replied:—"The truth of all these things is further enforced by a number of *presumptions*. And 1st, that he [Walter Stewart] was my cousin and domestic. As both are true, so is it also true, that 'it is a poor kin wherein are not either whore or knave;' neither am I the first man of many who have nourished serpents in their own bosoms; and, I think, my interest of blood and personal kindness to himself should rather be an argument to prove his ingratitude, than anyways to infer any thing against me."—*Orig. MS.* We now know, from the letter quoted in the previous note, that Argyle himself was in possession of a declaration from the king that could not fail to satisfy him that Walter Stewart had deponed falsely.

Bishop Guthry narrates, that after John Stewart of Ladywell was committed to prison, "my Lord Balmerino and my Lord Durie being sent from the committee to the castle to examine him, they did try another way with him, that he would rather take a tache upon himself than let Argyle lie under such a blunder;" and he adds, that "both being profound men, they knew well what arguments to use for that effect." Accordingly they persuaded him to write a letter to this great controller of the movement, "wherein he cleared him of those speeches, and acknowledged that himself had forged them out of malice to his lordship." On the eve of his execution, however, the wretched man told Guthry (who attended him in his last moments) that he had been induced to bear false witness against himself, in his extorted recantations. All the original documents, illustrative of this dark chapter in the history of Argyle, having been printed in a former publication,* it will be sufficient here to quote a passage of Ladywell's recantation, which, at all events, completely exonerates Montrose. He declares, that being in company with our hero and Lord Athol at Scone, "the Earls of Montrose and Athol desired the depener to inquire what bonds were either prest or taken by the Earl of Argyle or his friends, and to try how he carried himself in his late commission in Athol and elsewhere, and also to collect what presumptions there might be that he aspired to higher superiority (or some such words) above his equals, with that caveat by Montrose, *that the depener should rather keep himself within bounds than exceed.*"

It was upon the 11th of June 1641, the day following that

* Montrose and the Covenanters, vol. i. p. 471—504. Stewart qualified his information given to Montrose to this extent, that Argyle had only discoursed in his tent of the grounds on which a parliament could dethrone a king, and that he, Stewart, out of malice to Argyle, had reported to Montrose that the discourse particularly referred to Charles, and that the Scotch parliament intended to depose him. Argyle denied that he had spoken of deposing kings at all; but the proofs are against the truth of his statement, as has been shown in the former work.

on which John Stewart made the foregoing declaration, that the earl and his friends were suddenly arrested and confined in the fortress. The Lord Advocate simply notes the fact that Montrose was sent to the castle ; and it is worthy of remark, that, throughout all his private Diary, this statesman uses not one expression derogatory to the character of Montrose, nor ever hints that he had done any thing to justify the persecution he was now to endure. Neither does Sir Thomas mention the name of Lord Napier in connexion with an offence of any kind, and even passes the fact of his imprisonment, and that of his son-in-law, Sir George Stirling of Keir, in total silence. He was conscious of the unimpeachable character of Montrose and his associates, and ashamed of the injustice inflicted on them, in which, nevertheless, he was compelled to act his part as lord advocate of "the State."

There being no case, either upon the depositions of Walter Stewart or the confessions of John Stewart, against "the Plotters" that could bear the light of day, and as all the honourable individuals accused had declared in terms that distinctly separated what was true in Walter's evidence (kept secret by the committee) from his falsehoods and mystical puerilities,—the next endeavour was to involve the principal object of their enmity at least in the semblance of contradictions. Accordingly the whole party were subjected to vexatious examinations, reiterated, contrary to the most obvious principle of justice, for the purpose of enabling their pursuers to assert that they had criminated themselves. His lordship vainly endeavoured to frustrate this worse than factious proceeding, by a determination to answer no more interrogatories before a secret committee, but to demand an immediate and public trial.

Upon the 21st of June, Balmerino, and some others, had been with him in the castle, but found a different spirit to deal with than appeared in the wretched John Stewart, who, at this time, was awaiting the result of his own pusillanimity. The firmness and gentle dignity of Montrose never forsook him under the most trying circumstances. Balmerino's

mission having failed, an order was sent to bring their prisoner before the committee, and upon this occasion, happily, his conduct and demeanour can be illustrated from the secret record of his enemies, committed to writing at the time.

"At Edinburgh, 22d June 1641. The committee gave warrant to the constable of the castle to bring down the Earl of Montrose, and directed the Earl of Sutherland to attend his lordship from the castle, in coach, to the committee; who going there, returned with this answer:—

"MY LORD,

"I am most heartily willing, in all humble obedience, to attend your lordship, according to the committee's commandment towards me, and their pleasures to your lordship. But, as I do conceive, this appears to be grounded upon some discourse which did pass betwixt me and some appointed here yesterday for that end, wherein it seems there are some mistakes. For I, being required to declare myself upon some articles whereon I was to be questioned, answered, that seeing it was for matters that harmed the public I was questioned, I did conceive, in my humble opinion, with all respect, the more public my trial were, the further should it tend to the satisfaction and contentment thereof,—that, as the scandal was notorious and national, so likewise should the expiation be, one way or another. This is all I either have to say, or can answer; and lest it should consume too much time to the public, which may be much better employed,—seeing all but shows a misunderstanding,—I must humbly entreat your lordship to represent this much, together with all the humble obedience that can be performed by your servant,

"MONTROSE."

The day after the receipt of this firm and temperate reply, the committee ordained the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh to proceed in their name, and charge the constable of the castle to render to them Montrose, whom they were to bring down

under a sure guard ; and he was brought accordingly surrounded by about 400 men. The result will be best told by continuing the quotation from the original record.

“ At Edinburgh, 23d June 1641. The Earl of Montrose being appointed to appear before the committee, was brought down, who being desired to answer to some interrogatories, which he shunned in a fair way of discourse, but would not say positively he would refuse to answer,—the committee appointed him to declare in direct terms, yea or not ; who, being thereafter called, still put off with generals, and would not condescend, at least expressly yea or not, and still adhered to his paper before written. The committee declared they would take his answer for a denial ; which being intimated to his lordship, and one of the interrogatories asked, he continued still in his former refusal ; which the committee taking to their consideration, after the asking of opinions of all the noblemen, and considerable gentlemen, and others present, they all found that the Earl of Montrose is hereby disobedient and contumacious to the committee, in refusing to answer to their interrogatories, which they desired the president yet again to intimate to the said earl ; that if he pleased he might yet recall his former denial, and obey the committee, since he is so obliged by oath, subscription, and act of Parliament. This was intimated, and still the said earl continued in his former denial.”*

How the committee disposed of their contumacious prisoner after this scene the manuscript does not inform us ; but from Spalding we learn that, “ finding no contentment, they sent him back again to the castle of Edinburgh, there to remain ; but Stephen Boyd, captain thereof, was discharged from being captain, and another captain [called Colonel Lindsay]† put

* Original MS., signed Craighall, *I.P.D.*

† This blank in Spalding is supplied from the letters of Baillie, who says, that on “ Wednesday, 11th August [1641], Colonel Lindsay being sick, he got warrant to put in his place, for charge of the castle, any

in his place, because he suffered Montrose to have conference with the rest. Always they want that comfort now, and are now strictly kepted, so that each one of them had a page to wait upon him, and none suffered to go in nor out, but by permission, to speak with any of them. This was thought strict dealing, there being of Montrose's opinion, called *banders*, about nineteen noblemen, linked together against the committee government, suppose* good Covenanters otherwise."

The same private record of the committee, which has preserved to us the details of Montrose's demeanour upon this occasion, proceeds thus to narrate that of Napier and Keir.

"The Lord Napier being first desired [on the 21st of June] by the Lord Balmerino, Wedderburn, Sir Thomas Hope, and Edward Edgar, to answer to some interrogatories, he affirmed he could answer no more than what he had done by his former depositions; whereupon the committee did send for him, who appearing, did answer ingenuously, as in his depositions of the date of these presents, 23d June 1641.†

"The Laird of Keir being likewise desired, the said 21st June, did refuse to answer to any interrogatories; and being called this 23d June, before the whole committee, was interrogated whether he would answer to the said interrogatories; who answered, that he had answered already, and put the same in writing, whereunto he adhered; and since the matter for which he was called in question was concerning the public, *he desired he might be tried publicly*, and therefore desired to be spared. The president oft prest him to tell whether he would answer yea or not; whereunto he still replied, that as oft as the president would demand him, he would as oft desire to be excused. The committee, after voting, found that he

for whom he would be answerable. He named *Stephen Boyd*, his predecessor, whom the committee, for his *too great respect for his prisoners* [i. e. The Plotters], had shifted of that charge."

* i. e. Notwithstanding they were.

† It will be immediately seen that Napier was actually acquitted upon this occasion, and his freedom offered him; but he demanded a public acquittal along with his friends.

ought to answer, and not to stand to a refusal, and therefore appointed the president yet again to require ; which being accordingly done, he still refused to answer. The president told him that the committee would declare him obstinate and contumacious ; whose answer was, that he should be content they should add *that* to the rest, and censure him for altogether, if he in any of his carriage or expressions has misbehaved himself, for the which he ought or should be declared obstinate and contumacious.”*

Lord Napier's deposition of the 23d of June is not to be found among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library. Fortunately, however, we are not left in doubt as to the nature of his “ingenuous answering ;” for in the charter-chest of his family, notes of it in his own handwriting are still preserved, which exhibit in an instructive light the object of his examination, as well as the method adopted by the committee in such investigations. As Napier's character for probity and peaceful disposition was well known in both kingdoms, the virulent pursuit of Montrose and Traquair was impeded by the circumstance, that their case had become identified with this nobleman's, against whom it was scarcely possible to engender the vague calumnies and popular excitement that were to come in place of legal evidence against the others. Accordingly the committee were anxious, by all means, to get quit of Napier ; and the manner in which they endeavoured to effect their purpose could not be better described than in his own words :—

“ 23d June 1641. I was sent for out of the castle by the committee, and when I came there, Craighall† being preses, and looking upon a paper he had in his hand, said to me, he had some interrogatories to pose me on. To which I answered, that he need not interrogate me, for, as I told the Lord

* Original MS., signed “Craighall, *I. P. D.*,” and endorsed, “E. Montrose, L. Napier, Laird of Keir, anent their carriage in the answering to interrogatories, 21st and 23d June 1641.”

† Sir John Hope of Craighall, the Lord Advocate's eldest son.

Balmerino, and the rest that were with him the day before in the castle, I had deponed all I knew, freely and ingenuously ; and therefore I desired him to compare them with his interrogatories, and if any of them was answered by my depositions, it was well, and if any of them was not satisfied there, I could not do it, for I had deponed all I knew. And that not pleasing him, I asked him, if he would have me depone that I knew not ! But he would needs read his interrogatories ; and still I urged to read my depositions for answer. At last he says, that Keir's depositions and mine did not agree, in so far as I said I had not seen the instructions, but only heard Keir tell them to me. To which I answered, ' that is no material difference, since he made me know them by relation ; I remember not that circumstance of showing them, but I rather trust his memory than my own, who, apparently trusting his relation, and taking a short view, might forget that circumstance.' Then they were given me to read, with the king's answers upon them. ' These,' said I, ' are your own desires, and herein the public receives no prejudice.' But Humble* did read them, and because they did run upon generalities, as laws and former laws, without making exceptions of the laws of the last parliament,† he would insinuate that we cared not for these. To which I answered, ' that is an ill commentary ; we were not to enter particular conditions with the king, but did touch the generals, leaving particulars to those who were employed about the treaty.' Then I was desired to look upon Walter Stewart's notes in a long small piece of paper, and was demanded if I saw [had seen] them. I said, no. Then they were read, and I was posed what was meant by, &c., and &c.,‡ and the *Elephant*, and *Dromedary*, and the *Serpent in the bosom*. I said I knew

* Sir Adam Hepburn, one of Archibald Johnston's confidential correspondents and brother lawyers.

† The parliament of June 1640, which virtually overturned the monarchical government in Scotland.

‡ Instead of copying all the hieroglyphics in this MS. Lord Napier writes, " &c."

nothing of these hieroglyphics, that they were Walter's own notes. But then I was demanded if I knew the purpose was expressed under these notes. I said I knew not what they meant. They told me then that the Elephant was my Lord Hamilton who was the serpent in the bosom, and that he had strange ambitious designs. I answered, that there was never any such purpose among us ; for I was resolved to answer to all that was demanded and not in my depositions, with a No,—as indeed I knew not what they meant. Then I was asked if we three did not take an oath of secrecy before we went to the castle. I answered we never took one oath or other. Then they read, in the paper, of one *Signior Puritano*. I demanded who that was ! They told me it was my Lord Seaforth ; whereupon I fell a laughing, and said he was slandered ; and they fell in a great laughter. Then they posed me concerning Wigton. I answered that I had never seen Wigton since, nor knew nothing of it. Then I was asked concerning the keeping up of the offices of Estate. I referred them to my deposition upon that point, which was read, and then I said we all did think the king would not be so simple as to dispose of them till he came hither, and when he came I did think it would be his last act. Then a paper, which came from Traquair, was shown me, which I said I knew not, and so said they too. So whatever they demanded of me, which was not in my depositions, I resolved to answer with a negative. Only in one thing they posed me on, concerning the dissolving the army, the answer was so fair as I resolved to satisfy them, and said, ‘ truly, my lord, your question has brought something to my mind which I omitted in my depositions ; I remember Walter Stewart said that the king could not with honour come home, the army being lying in his way, to which it was answered, that we had our commissioners at London, if the treaty did not take effect, the king would not come home at all, and if it took effect, then the army would either dissolve, or they would be *his* army, and lay down their arms at his feet,—so that would be no impediment.’

“ Then I was removed, and a long consultation was had concerning me. At length I was called in, and there, in great pomp of words, and with large commendations of me in the course of my life, this sentence was pronounced, that the committee had ordained me to have *free liberty*, and to repair to my own house to do my lawful business, and an act read whereby I was obliged to answer them when they should call for me. To which I replied, that I knew that sentence proceeded from their favour to me, but truly in very deed it was no favour, but the doubling of a disgrace, first to send me to the castle as a traitor to God and my country in the view of all the people, and then, by way of favour, to let me go, which, if I did accept, was a certain though a tacit confession of guiltiness. It was answered, that it was not only favour, but out of consideration that I was less guilty than the rest. To which I said that I knew I was as guilty as any of the rest, and *they knew nothing which they did not impart to me, and had my approbation*. At which words they cried all out that I was much deceived. Then I was earnestly desired not to condemn the committee’s sentence, but accept of it. To which I said, that the committee might command me to hazard my life and means to do them service, but this was my honour, which I esteemed dearer than either of the other two. For if my releasement were not got by means of my innocence, *after trial*, and not by favour, I could not avoid imputation ; all the world would think that I had taken a way by [separate from] Montrose and Keir, and deponed something to their prejudice, which procured this special favour to myself ; and therefore entreated them not to put a double indignity upon me, whom they esteemed less guilty, when, as yet, they had put but a single upon them. Whereupon I was removed, and there followed me my Lord Yester, Ould Durie, and Archibald Campbell, who, for two hours I think, plied me with arguments to accept and obey the committee’s pleasure. Not being able to persuade me, the committee gave warrant to receive me in again to the castle, to be advised for

a night. So I retired, and two or three of them followed me to the door, and by the cloak stayed me there, but all in vain.

"So, for any thing I can gather, the great fault they think to find is, that there was practising with Traquair, an incendiary. Admitting, but not granting, that it were so, it ought to be considered to what end that dealing was; to wit, to bring hither the king to give his people satisfaction, to settle his own authority, and cure the distempers of the state; and if that end was for the good of the state, the means, Traquair, called but not yet declared an incendiary, was no such sinister one as deserves imprisonment. As for any thing that reflects upon Argyle, it is his own fault that urged so; neither are particular acts of * * * to be accounted prejudices to the public, unless the one as well as the other be esteemed so.* By Walter Stewart's notes they think there is some practice against the marquis,† and think to draw us in that of which *we know nothing*, if any be; and, certainly, that suspicion has got us all *his* friendship to be *our* enemies.

"My negative answers without discourse, to all not comprehended in my depositions, did well agree to that I said, that I had already deponed all I knew. But I was loath to do so,‡ till, after long fensing, they would needs read interrogatories, and I behoved to hear them. It avoided contumacy, and I could wish my Lord Montrose and Keir did the like, for once only, and never answer more, *negative* nor *affirmative*. For by their *not answering* they (the committee) think their intention is to put off till a parliament, though they do not appeal. But if they press us to any more answering, it is but

* This sentence is obscure, and there is one word of it illegible in the manuscript.

† The Marquis of Hamilton. This false alarm on the part of Hamilton and Argyle resolved into "the Incident."

‡ i. e. To answer at all. Lord Napier means, that instead of refusing to answer any interrogatories, he would answer whenever he could do so *negative*, but without entering into details.

to ensnare and entangle us in contradictions, and it is not fit we do it.”*

On the 15th of July 1641, Lord Loudon opened the parliament, and delivered the substance of the king's instructions, which were received with a display of cordiality that was more insulting than sincere. It was declared that nothing should be done before his majesty arrived, by act, sentence, or determination of any kind, except to prepare, accommodate, and ripen the business of the legislature. To this, however, was added the large exception,—comprehending, along with every other conceivable case, the act of taking off the head of the unfortunate John Stewart,—namely, should “any such occasion occur which the parliament shall find to concern the public good, and peace of the kingdom, and present necessity thereof.”

Immediately on the meeting of the Estates, the Lords Erskine and Fleming appeared for Montrose and Keir, and the Master of Napier on the part of his father, in support of their respective petitions, to be heard in their own defence. But it was far from being the intention of their pursuers that the case should be brought to such a fair and speedy conclusion. It was objected that the petitions were not signed, and the reply, that they were all in the handwriting of the parties themselves, and that the young noblemen presenting them held respectively a mandate, signed by the accused, to appear for them, was disregarded. In the afternoon, however, they produced the same petitions signed by Montrose and the others, when the house pronounced for answer, that they would hear the petitioners when it might be deemed expedient. The earl solicited the members to grant warrant for himself, Napier, and Keir to meet, in presence of the constable of the castle, and consult together for their common

* Original MS. in Lord Napier's handwriting.—*Napier Charter-chest.*

defence. Napier urged the equitable request that nothing should be done to prejudice the house against any of them in their absence, until they had been allowed an opportunity of clearing themselves. The answer was, that the Estates would take all these petitions into consideration in due time, and at their most convenient leisure. Meanwhile, however, voluminous "articles" had been prepared against Montrose and his friends, which, after a keen debate, were ordered to be read publicly in the house, "*extra incarcerationum presentiam*," that is to say, in absence of the accused.

On the 23d of July, "queries against the plotters," digested from the articles produced the day preceding, were read, and the question was moved, whether these constituted a sufficient ground of citation against them! The house, in the afternoon, found, "after much debate and reasoning, by voices, that there was sufficient ground of citation against the plotters in these articles, and ordained them to be cited to answer before the parliament; and the king's advocate was also ordained to pursue and concur with the advocates of the Estate for the prosecution of the same." These heads of impeachment were composed of violent assumptions, unwarrantable inferences, and positive untruths; and thus the Parliament became completely prejudiced against the absent parties.*

On the 27th of July, the Earls of Mar and Wigton, on the part of the accused, moved that they be heard in terms of their petitions. After some debate, the question was put, "when and how the prisoners in the castle should be heard?" and it was carried that they should be heard publicly in the house, in the afternoon, Montrose first, then Napier, and lastly Keir; but they were "to abstain from particulars, or speaking any thing in the cause." In consequence of this decision, Montrose was called before the house. As he entered,

* See original MS. "Grounds of Citation of Montrose," printed in the Illustrations of Montrose and the Covenanters, vol. ii. p. 31.

he saluted the assembled Estates* with that respect for his own dignity which was a characteristic of his demeanour under all circumstances, and to which Bishop Burnet alludes when, in his depreciating style, he calls him "stately to affectation." The president of the parliament, Lord Burleigh,† then demanded if the earl had any thing to say to the house. "Nothing," replied the latter, "beyond what I have already humbly represented in my petitions to the parliament; and now I am here awaiting in all humility your lordships' commands." The object being, as Lord Napier justly surmised, "to ensnare and entangle," and to cause Montrose to say something rashly against Argyle, which might afford a pretext for his committal, this cautious and dignified reply did not suit their purpose. Accordingly, the president desired him to remove until he should know the parliament's pleasure. Being again called, the former question was repeated to him, and received precisely the same answer. When pressed on the subject, however, he spoke as follows:—

MONTROSE.—"My lords, I have nothing further to say to the parliament. But I am heartily sorry that it should be my misfortune to exhibit myself in this condition; for, as it has been far from my intention to fail in my duty to the public, so was it as much from my thoughts that I would have appeared here upon the present terms; or, it being that those who have been declared enemies to religion and liberty must either make due acknowledgment, or receive their merited censure,—that I should have to consider myself as one within such a predicament. For what I have done for the public is known to a great many, and what I have done against it is unknown even to myself. However, truth seeks no corners, and needs

* "At first entry, after low curtacie," are the words of the Cum-bernauld MS., to be afterwards quoted.

† "Who had gotten the employment, because he was an implicit follower of the Earl of Argyle, though otherwise no great plotter."—Guthry, p. 98.

no favour. Nor will I trouble your lordships with longer discourse, but resolutely rely upon my own innocence and your lordships' justice, and still in all humility attend your lordships' pleasure."

Upon this, their noble prisoner, who, to use Principal Baillie's expression, "was very hard to be guided," was removed a second time; and when called back, the scene proceeded as follows:—

BURLEIGH.—"My lord, have ye any thing for me to represent to the parliament?"

MONTROSE.—"Nothing beyond what I have already humbly represented; and in which, with all patience, I am to expect your lordships' resolutions. I am confident withal, that it is unnecessary for me humbly to entreat that your lordships will be pleased to reserve me an ear; for I assure myself that not only justice, but your lordships' wisdom, will plead for me much more strongly than I could express it myself. So, I would only in all humility await your lordships' commands. My resolution is to carry along with me fidelity and honour to the grave; and therefore heartily wish that I may be put to all that it is possible to question me upon; and either shall I give your lordships all full and humble satisfaction, or, if it be otherwise, so far from deprecating, will petition for the most condign censure that your lordships shall think suitable to so much demerit." *

* It must be observed that the parliament at this time was only sitting, under the presidency of Argyle's friend Lord Burleigh, in order, as they jesuitically expressed it, to prepare, accommodate, and ripen the business before the king arrived. Montrose's present reserve was from his anxiety to be *fairly* put upon his trial, when the parliament was properly constituted in presence of his majesty himself; at which time he meant fully to clear himself, and to accuse those who had calumniated him. The object of the faction, in which they were eminently successful, was to deprive Montrose and his friends of any such fair trial; and especially to prevent him from having any opportunity of saying a single word in his own defence before his sovereign. His admirable address to the parliament, quoted above, is from the original MS. notes taken at the time,

Finding that nothing more could be made of Montrose, Argyle's subservient parliament,—many of the peers being at this time absent with the army and its grand committee,—sent him back to prison, and called Lord Napier before them. It will be remembered that their consciousness of the innocence and worth of this nobleman, who was nearly seventy years of age, had been admitted to himself by the committee in their private examination of him, and the acceptance of a secret and disreputable acquittal pressed upon him. To this circumstance he did not condescend to allude upon the present occasion, but defended himself with a temper and dignity that appears even from the partial record of these speeches that was kept for the parliament.* He “declared he had done nothing against the law of God or nations, or municipal law; and if the contrary should be tried, he submitted himself in all humility to the

preserved among the Cumbernauld Papers, and entitled “Montrose's Speech to the Parliament.” As Lord Fleming, eldest son of John second earl of Wigton (who was the son of Montrose's aunt, the Lady Lillias Graham), acted as his procurator before this very parliament, there can be no doubt how the documents connected with these proceedings came to be in his charter-chest at Cumbernauld. These papers, with the use of which for this biography I have been kindly favoured, are at present passing through the press, and will form the second volume of the Maitland Club Miscellany.

Baillie says, that upon this occasion Montrose “having ended, they sent him back again to the castle, and heard read a very odious libel against him, whereupon they voiced him to be cited to answer within fifteen days.”

* There has been lately deposited in the Register House, Edinburgh, the original record of such of the acts and proceedings of the rescinded Parliaments (from 1640 to 1651), as they were not ashamed to put in writing. This was not known to exist until recently, when the volumes were discovered in the State-paper Office, London. See the evidence of Thomas Thomson, Esq., in the Report of the Record Commission, 1836. It is from this MS. record that the speeches of Napier and Keir are quoted above. Little justice, however, has been done to them in this record. At least Montrose's speech, as there given, is a most meagre and garbled note of what has been so happily preserved in the Cumbernauld charter-chest, and most probably so are the others.

censurement of the parliament ; but desired them to be careful in their proceedings, so that nothing might be done derogatory to the glory of this nation. Whereupon the Estates remanded him back again to the castle, till he were insisted against according to justice."

Sir George Stirling then appeared before them. He "declared that, ever since the beginning, he had heartily joined in the good cause, and had never swerved from the straight way of advancing the same ; and if any suspicion were now against him, he hopes to purge himself thereof ; and in the mean time desires the Estates to suspend any prejudicial opinion of him till he be tried ; and craved that when summons shall be given against him, liberty may be granted to him to meet with the Earl of Montrose and Lord Napier, that they might advise upon their common defence. The Estates declare that they will proceed legally according to justice, and when, after citation, any supplication shall be exhibited, the same shall receive answer."*

Archibald Johnston's secret instruction, to make every exertion to ensure the success of their prosecutions by employing the strength of the bar, was particularly attended to. The Lord Advocate, whose disinclination to such employment

* It would seem that Sir Archibald Stewart did not make his appearance upon this occasion, for all that the record says of him is, that it was voted by the Estates, that Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall shall be committed to the castle, and accordingly a warrant was subscribed by the preses of the parliament for that effect. Baillie, in his Journal of the parliament 1641, says, "In the afternoon [27th July] Montrose, Napier, and Keir were heard ; Blackhall was voiced to have a chamber in the castle. The reason of his [previous] liberty was thought to be *Argyle's favour*, to whom, they said, he made confession of sundry of the plotters' mysteries." But his depositions differ in nothing material from those of his fellow-prisoners, and in like manner completely contradict those points of Walter Stewart's evidence upon which the libel was mainly founded. It is not unlikely, however, when we consider the scene with Lord Napier, that some attempt was made to tamper with Sir Archibald, though certainly it did not succeed, as he was eventually cited with the rest.

has been already illustrated from his own Diary, Sir Thomas Nicholson, and Messrs Nicholson, Mowat, Pearson, and Baird, were ordained to draw up and pursue the summonses against the plotters.* On the 29th of July (the day after John Stewart's execution) Montrose petitioned the house that Sir Lewis Stewart, and Messrs Nisbet and Gilmore, should be appointed of counsel for him, and that he might meet and confer with Napier and Keir. The house took this petition into consideration until the next day, and in the mean time directed Nisbet and Gilmore to go to the castle and consult with him. On the following day the Lords Erskine and Fleming presented another petition from the earl, that Sir Lewis Stewart should be commanded to consult with and plead for him; that he himself might be allowed to confer with his fellow-prisoners; and that the fifteen free days, on which they were cited, should reckon from the period of consultation with their counsel. Upon this petition a debate ensued, and, by a plurality of voices, it was determined, that any advocates not appointed for the state, should, if required, consult with Montrose; but as for pleading, that was reserved for consideration. The plotters, however, were not to meet together until they were cited, and a committee, having reviewed the processes against them, should have determined whether there were any more "interrogatories to pose them on;" and, it was added, after expiry of the first fifteen days, the house would consider the question as to the time of compearance. It was also decreed that the accused were bound to answer *all interrogatories* that the committee proposed to them, even *after their citation*.

Moreover, his lodgings in the Canongate were ransacked for papers to criminate him, but in vain. Lord Sinclair also was commissioned to go to the house of Old Montrose, and institute a search for the same purpose. Accordingly, this nobleman, very much degraded by the office, and, as Guthry observes,

* The Advocate's Diary is altogether silent upon the case of "the plotters."

"then more furious in the cause than afterwards," broke open the cabinets, but "found nothing therein belonging to the public affairs; only instead thereof he found some letters from ladies to him [Montrose] in his younger years, flowered with Arcadian compliments, which, being divulged, would possibly have met with a favourable construction, had it not been that the hatred carried to Montrose made them to be interpreted in the worst sense. The Lord Sinclair's employment having been only to search for papers of correspondence betwixt his majesty and Montrose, in reference to public affairs, he was much blamed by men of honour and gallantry for publishing those letters, but the rigid sort had him in greater esteem for it."*

The day upon which the earl was cited to appear and answer to the libel against him, was the 14th of August; though, to the very last, was he pressed with interrogatories. "At Edinburgh, 12th August 1641, in presence of the committee, compeared the Earl of Montrose, to whom was intimated the warrant from the parliament to examine his lordship *upon oath*, or to confront if need be. Whereunto his lordship answered, that he was willing to give his oath upon these terms, viz. if it concerned himself and his *own process*, that for the point he should be examined, when he should swear and depone, it might be *finis litis*,† in as far as concerned that article of the libel; and if what his lordship should depone upon oath concerned other men and not himself, he was content to declare simply and freely; which those of the committee thought reasonable, and accorded thereunto. His lordship likewise desired, that, after this his examination upon oath, what he shall declare may make an absolute close

* By Lord Sinclair having published them, Guthry probably meant that he disclosed them, or discoursed of them, for they are now unknown, and not to be found among the pamphlets of the day.

† *i. e.* Conclusive of the process, as an oath of reference always infers. Yet there was no chance of any article in the libel being departed from, whatever might be the terms of Montrose's deposition, as indeed the result proved.

to whatsoever his lordship shall be asked. The Earl of Montrose being required to depone upon oath his knowledge of any practices, or persons that practised in prejudice of the public, for their private ends, since the first subscribing of the national Covenant, did answer, that he was in all humility most ready to give his oath, or do any thing else commanded by the parliament, or the committee in their names ; but since that general, anent practices, was so vast as he could not trust to his memory therein, under oath, his lordship humbly desired that he might be posed [questioned] either upon particulars, whereunto he would most willingly and heartily answer, or otherwise have such a sufficient time to recollect himself, as he should not appear to dally with his oath. This his lordship desired the committee to represent to the parliament, before any further inquiry.”*

Balmerino reported the matter to the parliament, who immediately issued their warrant and command that he should answer, and depone upon oath, to the interrogatories of the committee, and especially should answer the question, whether or not it was consistent with his own knowledge that any individuals had been guilty of indirect practices, since the signing of the national Covenant, and what persons had thus practised in prejudice of the public ! All that Montrose had hitherto projected, in opposition to the democratic movement, was justified not only by the positive information of John Stewart but by what was daily passing around him. The person, however, from whom he had derived the chief intelligence was put to death ; and he could not depone upon oath and of his own knowledge as to the treason of any individual. The object of those repeated examinations, unparalleled for their injustice, was still to “ ensnare and entangle ” him. It is fortunate for his fame that so much of this secret record of his enemies has been accidentally preserved, and can now be brought to bear the most unquestionable testimony in favour

* Original MS. signed by Montrose and Balmerino.

of his consistency, firmness, and temper, at the same time that they expose the iniquity of his persecutors and judges.* Upon the 13th of August, Montrose was again summoned before them to hear this order of parliament, and again the insidious question was put to him. "Being," says their secret record, "solemnly sworn to declare the verity upon the foresaid question, declared, as his lordship had done in his depositions of the 4th of August instant, that that bond which his lordship and others did conceive, was built upon some indirect practising,—as they did understand it,—[and] did consist of two points;—the one, anent jealousies and presumptions touching a dictator, the other, concerning the encantoning a part of the country: And declares that his lordship does not now depone or affirm of his *own knowledge* that these grounds were *truly so*, but that his lordship and others at the time conceived them to be so; and declares that no further consists in his *lordship's knowledge* of private or public practising at home or abroad; and siclike declares that his *lordship knows* nothing of any indirect practising or dealing, either by the Earl of Argyle, or Lord Lindsay,† or any other Scotsman."‡

Montrose had now suffered two months of solitary confinement, continually harassed by these lawless proceedings, and treated with such indignity as mean minds delight to exercise upon lofty ones, when they can do so with impunity. Yet from first to last we observe in him the same remarkable demeanour that a few years afterwards attracted the sympathy

* The MS. Record of the rescinded acts, already referred to as having been recently discovered in London, does not contain any of those proceedings before the committee, for our knowledge of which we have been indebted to the original papers preserved in the Advocates' Library, and to Lord Napier's private notes.

† It would have been still more instructive could we have seen the particular interrogatories which brought out Montrose's replies. From the very first he declared he meant not to accuse Lindsay at all, and he had already deposed to, and produced his authority for, his suspicions of Argyle.

‡ Original MS., signed by Montrose on each page, and "Balmerino, I.P.D." at the conclusion.

and admiration of Europe to his scaffold. Throughout the whole of the reiterated and vexatious examinations now disclosed, which were taken down by those who would do the least possible justice to his words and demeanour, no symptom of excitement or violence appears, not one ungentle expression of impatience or disrespect to his ungenerous pursuers. Even in his enemies' record of his "contumacy," we trace nothing but his calmness and self-possession, combined with the dignity of a nobleman, and the firmness of an invincible spirit.

Notwithstanding that he had been compelled to depone upon oath in the criminal process against him, he was not released, nor even brought to the public trial he so respectfully, though firmly demanded. On the very day after the reference to his oath, being the 14th of August, "this," says Balfour, "being the peremptory day to which the Earl of Montrose was cited to answer before the parliament, after some debate, by voices, he was ordained to compare in person at the bar, as a delinquent, in the place appointed for the common incendiaries, which he in all humility obeyed, and his trial was delayed till the 24th of August instant." And by the original record of parliament, it appears that when placed at their bar, he "offered himself ready to answer, and desired no continuation, and desired the extracts of the depositions and papers whereupon his summons is founded,"—but he pleaded and protested in vain. It was on the evening of this same day, being Saturday, 14th August 1641, that the king arrived at Holyrood House, accompanied, among others, by his nephew the Palsgrave, the Duke of Lennox, and the Marquis of Hamilton.

About this time the "canny" Rothes, the father of the Covenant, the seducer of Montrose, and the chronicler of the cause, died. Even Mr Brodie, in his History of the British Empire, writing of this nobleman, remarks, "an offer of a place in the bed-chamber, and the promise of a great marriage, had so won him, that it is extremely probable, in spite of his

professions to his old friends, a premature death alone rescued him from the disgrace of apostasy." In 1638, when he was in the ascendant of his factious career, he wrote,—“but God hath a great work to do here, as will be shortly seen, and men be judged by what is passed.” In 1640, his sense of the progress of the great work is indicated by that letter wherein, crouching to Argyle, he asks him, “if his lordship had a mind to be chancellor of Scotland.” But, in 1641, the great work, so far as he cared for it, had reached its consummation.—In that year he writes in deprecating terms to Archibald Johnston,—“prepare the Earl of Argyle and Balmerino,* for if I defer to *accept the place*, times are uncertain, and dispositions.

* Lord Hailes (Memor. vol. ii. p. 135) quotes the following fragment of a letter, in the Advocates' Library, from Balmerino to a person unknown :—“Among other mysteries of these times, one seemeth strange that some, having no principles of religion to lead them, should fall fairer in the present course of church affairs, than others that have both professed and practised both, and suffered ; but as *crimen ambitus* is against our covenant, so I see *φιλαργυρία παντῶν τῶν κακῶν εἶδος*. I have retained so much of the liturgy as to say, “Good Lord deliver us.” Lord Hailes notes, that he cannot ascertain the date of this letter, and that he will not “presume upon simple conjecture to determine against whom the charge of a loose life, with great seeming zeal of ambition and of avarice, is here brought.” But we must be forgiven for conjecturing that Rothes is here pointed at by his old colleague. Clarendon records the particulars of the place at court and the rich marriage as the price of Rothes, of whom he says, after eulogizing his appearance and address, that he was “unrestrained in his discourse by any scruples of religion, which he only put on when the part he was to act required it, and then no man could appear more conscientiously transported.” Baillie, in a letter to his wife (not in the printed edition of his letters), dated 2d June 1641, says,—“Show to my Lady [Montgomery] and to *her only* that my Lord her father [Rothes] is like to change all the court, that the king and queen begin much to affect him, and if they go on, he is like to be the greatest courtier either of Scots or English. Likely he will take a place in the bed-chamber, and be little more a Scottish man. If he please, as it seems he inclines, he may have my Lady Devonshire, a very wise lady, with £4000 sterling a-year. The wind now blows fair in his topsail. I wish it may long continue, but all things are *very changeable*. Thy own, R. Baillie.”

If Argyle and Balmerino be pleased, then you may labour to move Lothian and Lindsay ;" and after a miserable attempt to excuse his venal retreat, and thrusting in one sentence of cant, he concludes,—“ but this is an age of unjust censuring,”—and so saying, he died. He became unexpectedly ill on the eve of the king's departure for Scotland, and expired at Richmond, 23d August 1641.

Montrose has been bitterly accused (upon what proof we have seen) of having been tempted at court to turn against the Covenanters. But it was Rothes, and not he, who forsook his party solely from selfish motives. This gallant noble they decreed to be “ a bloody murderer and excommunicated traitor.” The memory of the other was protected by parliament, on the petition of his son, in an act whereby they “ do honour the said umquhile Earl of Rothes with this their national testimony, that he had deserved well of the public as a *loyal subject to the king*, a faithful servant to the Estates, and a true patriot to his country,”—in short, lauding him “ in his whole actions and carriage.”

Upon Tuesday the 17th of August, the king proceeded to parliament, Hamilton bearing the crown, and Argyle the sceptre. If Charles never received that letter of advice, the draft of which has remained among Lord Napier's papers, the coincidence is very remarkable, that his present demeanour, and the very expressions he used in his speech, precisely agreed with what is there written.* His majesty “ kindly saluting

* See also the expressions in the king's letters to Argyle and to Napier, quoted in the note, p. 179-80. Napier, in his defences, says “ Having sworn to use our best means for securing our religion and liberty, if we had neglected this private way,—which has been in some degree a means to further his majesty's presence, by which our religion and liberty are both secured, and wherein, if any thing be omitted conducing thereto, it is not *his majesty's* fault,—we had, far rather, been perjured.” *Orig. MS.* There is a contemporary copy of this speech of the king's among the Cumbernauld Papers. It is also preserved by Balfour.

the house," spoke of the unlucky differences and mistakings that had happened betwixt him and his subjects, how deeply he regretted them, but that he hoped by his presence to settle, and "rightly to know and be known of my native country." He adverted to the difficulties and obstacles cast in the way of this progress; yet, he added, "this I will say, that if love to my native country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a commissioner which I am come to perform myself." Then he called upon their loyal feelings in support of his authority, and as if mindful of that eloquent assurance to himself,—that thousands in Scotland would shed their heart's blood ere his throne departed, and that he was not like a tree lately planted which oweth the fall to the first wind,—he now cast himself upon the affections of his people for the maintenance of his royal power, "which," he said, "I do now enjoy after a hundred and eight descents, and which you have so often professed to maintain, and to which your own national oath doth oblige you." And, as if also mindful of the injunction to satisfy them in point of religion and liberties in a loving and free manner, but to stand on his prerogatives, and to make the dispensing of offices his last act there, Charles thus concluded: "Now the end of my coming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withal to quiet those distractions which have and may fall out amongst you; and this I mind not superficially but fully and cheerfully to do, for I assure you that I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people content, and a general satisfaction. Therefore, not offering to endear myself to you in words, which indeed is not my way, I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the religion and just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act."

The result was far different from what Montrose and Napier had anticipated when they wrote to their royal master, that "the remedy of this dangerous disease consisteth only in your majesty's presence for a space in that kingdom." These honest

counsellors had not taken into their calculation that the king would be entirely in the hands of a faction, and that he would be compelled to abandon that excellent precept, "suffer them not to meddle with your power." Even Hamilton, whom he had so long and affectionately trusted, caballed with Argyle to rob and insult him. The few in Scotland who really loved their sovereign, dared not evince their affection, or were in prison for doing so. In a letter to the Earl of Ormonde, dated at Edinburgh, 25th September 1641, Sir Patrick Wemyss draws this affecting picture of Charles while in the north : "What will be the event of these things, God knows ; for there was never king so much insulted over. It would pity any man's heart to see how he looks ; for he is never at quiet among them ; and glad he is when he sees any man that he thinks loves him. Yet he is seeming merry at meat." The result was, that, to save his friends, he was compelled to scatter honours and rewards at the bidding of his enemies ; in such a manner, says Clarendon, "that he seemed to have made that progress into Scotland only that he might make a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom ;" which extorted from the Earl of Carnwath the melancholy jest, "that he would go to Ireland, and join Sir Phelim O'Neal, chief of the rebels there, and then he was sure the king would prefer him."

Alexander Leslie was created Earl of Leven ; Amond, the second in command, became Earl of Calendar ; Argyle obtained a marquissate ; and Archibald Johnston was in the mean time "made content with knighthood, and a place in the session, and £200 pension."* To make way for this worthy on the bench, and for his two secret correspondents Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse and Mr Adam Hepburn of Humbie, the names of Sir John Hay and Sir William Elphinston were struck off : Sir Thomas was moreover made justice-general, and John Leslie of Newton, the uncle of Rothes, came in place of Sir Robert Spottiswood as president. Argyle, Angus, Lindsay, and

* Baillie.

Balmerino, were made lords extraordinary of session. Alexander Henderson obtained as his reward the revenue of the chapel-royal. But the inferior agitators among the clergy were, as usual, disappointed ; for Argyle and others seized the richest spoils of the bishoprics. Thus by force, and fraud, and fear, was the deed of gift accomplished, and the kingdom of Scotland transferred to an avaricious and designing faction.

Charles might well exclaim, " I have granted you more than ever king granted yet, and what have you done for me ! " * The principal equivalent for these fatal concessions was, that the persons called incendiaries and plotters, against whom in law not a vestige of a case existed, instead of being deprived of their liberties or lives under a mockery of the forms of justice, should be released on caution ; and although tried in secret, that the punishment to follow their predetermined conviction should be referred to Charles. A committee for their trial was appointed, and, on the 16th of November, " the humble petition of James earl of Montrose, Archibald lord Naper, the Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to the king and parliament for their liberation being read, the house ordained them to be liberated on caution, that from henceforth they carry themselves *soberly and discreetly*, and that they do appear before the committee for their trial, on the 4th of January thereafter." But, in fact, all these individuals were already condemned, and actually punished, without any trial at all, and in spite of private evidence contradictory of their libels. From the record it appears that the parliament took great credit to themselves for remitting these trials to a committee, whose proceedings were to be limited to the first of March ; and they " declare that they will not proceed to a final sentence, nor insist upon the punishment of the saids persons, but that they do, for the reasons foresaid, freely remit them to his majesty." The reason foresaid is worthy of the most impudent cabal that ever ministered to injustice and anarchy, namely, " that his majesty may joyfully return a contented prince, from a con-

* Balfour.

tanted people." There follows, of the same date, a declaration by the king, that, "taking in good part the respect and thankfulness of this parliament, in remitting to me those who are cited as incendiaries, and others, I will not employ any of these persons in offices or places of court or state, without consent of parliament, nor grant them access to my person."*

There can be no doubt that his majesty's anxiety, for the fate of those who really loved him, now dictated many of his concessions. His affectionate secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas, was at this time the sympathizing depositary of his wishes and distracted feelings. In one of his most interesting letters, Sir Edward thus writes to the king: "I pray God there be not some design in detaining your majesty there till your affairs here be reduced to the same state they there are in. I assure your majesty the opinion of wise men here is, that to have what officers you desire, in that kingdom, cannot make so much for your service there, as your absence hence at this time will prejudice you in business of more importance here. And as for the Lord Montrose and the rest, some here (that pretend to understand the condition of their case) are of opinion, that their innocency is such, as they will not fare the worse for your majesty's leaving them to the ordinary course of justice there." But the honest secretary knew not how extraordinary was the course of justice now in Scotland. There is an important note, written by the hand of Charles himself, on the margin of Sir Edward's letter, in reply to the passage quoted: "This may be true that you say, but I am sure that I miss somewhat in point of honour if they all be not relieved before I go hence."†

* MS. Parl. Rec.

† See the correspondence printed in the second volume of Evelyn's *Memoirs*, p. 31, quarto edit. 1819. The letter quoted is dated 5th October 1641. It shows that, four months after their imprisonment, the crime of Montrose and his friends was a mystery to all but the faction, and that only a few wise men could pretend to conjecture the grounds of their case. The *Advocate's Diary* contains no record of it, and scarcely an allusion to the above proceedings.

His majesty returned to England upon the 18th of November 1641. By the act of parliament, the process against Montrose was not to endure beyond the 1st of March ; and yet on the last day of February, he was necessitated to present to his unjust judges a severe and dignified remonstrance :—" Notwithstanding," said this injured nobleman for himself and his friends,—“ notwithstanding our many and zealous endeavours for the public, and the religion and liberties of our country, with the hazard of our persons, and great charge and expenses to ourselves, it was our misfortune, when others were rewarded and remunerated, to meet, first, with an hard opinion and misconstruction of our actions, as tending to division, and practising against our country,—whereof, God knows, we never harboured the least thought,—and, after we had suffered in our *names* (which to men of honour of all sufferings is the most grievous) we were imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh in June 1641, and suffered in our *persons*, being detained there by the space of six months. And the first six weeks of our imprisonment we were confined as if we had been guilty of the highest points of treason, our friends not being allowed to have access to us ; and during the whole time of our imprisonment, were sequestered in separate rooms, and denied the privilege of meeting and enjoying each other's society. Nevertheless, we conceived that the course taken against us by the committee of Estates, albeit very unusual (at the time of our commitment, the most part of the peers of the country being absent at the camp),* was out of a *tender zeal* to the public ; and with all humility and patience we acquiesced in the same, and comforted ourselves with the expectation of a parliament,—being confident to vindicate our actions from all aspersions and prejudices in that

* It was the policy of the ruling party to send as many of the influential noblemen and gentlemen, not subservient to them, as they could out of the way, by giving them commands in the army of 1640, or putting them on its great committee. Thus Montrose himself got a command in that army, and Napier and Keir were put on the committee at Newcastle, but soon returned in disgust. See p. 129-140.

high court. Yet such still was the *tenor of our misfortune*, that, before we were heard to clear ourselves to the *Estates* of the hard impression they had received against us, the old jealousies were fomented,—new prejudices against us and our actions bred,—instilled into the ears and hearts of the whole *Estates*,—distilled from that honourable body through the whole country, upon the occasion of drawing up voluminous dittays against us (and the public readings thereof in the face of parliament), which contained a *rhapsody* of many heinous crimes ; in the assumption, painting forth our actions with the foulest colours, and all possible aggravations ; assuming against us the odious crimes of perjury, lying, treason, and others,—and in the conclusion, being *written with blood* and inferring the highest pains of infamy, forfeiture of life, lands, and goods.* We had just reason to apprehend that the first impressions, which are ever most firm (being strongly rooted in manner foresaid), could hardly be got out of the minds of men ; yet such was our confidence of our innocence, that we frequently petitioned to be heard before the honourable *Estates* ; and undoubtedly might have expected, from their goodness and justice, a full hearing and trial, if that high court had not been taken up with business of greatest moment, and in the end his majesty had not been forced to return to settle his royal affairs in his other dominions,—to our unspeakable grief, in regard our honour lay still branded with these foul and public aspersions. Nevertheless, we were still hopeful, and were promised the happiness of a public and speedy trial ; in regard the *estates* had appointed a committee for our trial, and recom-

* I am in hopes of being able to print the libel itself in the Appendix to this volume. Hitherto it has remained unknown in the Montrose charter-chest. The principles of its composition, and the composer of it, will be seen by referring back to p. 160. Yet the Lord Advocate was compelled to father this disgraceful production ; for if he had not done so, he must have parted with the emoluments of that office, and, like the good President Spottiswood, have shaken the dust of the Covenant from his feet, and departed to seek protection with his royal benefactor.

mended to the commissioners to proceed with all diligence ; and had limited our process and trial to endure till the 1st of March, that we should be no longer in suspense."

This unanswerable remonstrance then goes on to narrate the promptitude with which Montrose and his friends were ever ready to appear and defend themselves, and the tyrannical meanness with which their enemies, conscious of the baseless nature of the prosecution, still kept it impending over their heads. "I, James earl of Montrose," it proceeds to say, "being necessitated to be absent the day whereunto I was cited,—by reason of sickness,—at my appearing the eighth day thereafter, desired a short time for answering my dittay, which was more prolix than any of the rest, and got only one free day for giving in my defences, my appearance being on Friday at night, and Monday being assigned peremptorily." Montrose, however, was ready with his defences. The procurators of the Estates took eighteen days to answer, whereas he replied in three days. During this vexatious and unjust delay, "we," say the protesting parties, "have offered and urged all possible means of the trial of the truth ; and especially the confrontance of Lieutenant-colonel Walter Stewart, upon whose *singular depositions*, taken before we were cited and heard,—he being by his own confession guilty and infamous,—our dittay for the most part is founded ; being a weak ground in law for an inquisition against any of the meanest quality,—much more for a formal dittay against those of our condition."

Upon these grounds, Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, taking God to witness that they were unconscious of any act of baseness against their country, or of any of the foul crimes thus laid to their charge,—protested against these iniquitous proceedings, and demanded that neither their imprisonment, nor those calumnious libels, should infer "the least presumption of guilt against us, in the memory of this or future ages ;" and for this undeniable reason, that, after the long period of their persecution, and all the tyranny of their treatment, "we are not found guilty of any of these crimes wherewith we are

charged." "And," they conclude, "if it should happen (as we expect) that any point of the said libels be found relevant or proven against us,—we, being conscious of our own integrity and innocence, protest for remedy thereof; and that nevertheless we be holden, in honour, name, fame, and estate, in the same case as we were at any time before question was moved against us."*

So ended this most characteristic specimen of the "grand national movement." The country, generally speaking, was kept in ignorance of the real merits of the case, and, indeed, has remained so until the present time. The punishment of these "incendiaries" was supposed to be referred to his majesty; and they, whom their accusers knew from the first to be innocent, were, by way of being mercifully dealt with, at length suffered to depart with life and liberty. That his majesty was well aware of the nature of these proceedings against his best friends, is proved not only by his expressions to the Secretary Nicholas, already quoted, but by the following letter to Montrose, dated a month previous to the issuing of the protest which concluded the process:—

"MONTROSE,

"As I think it fit, in respect of *your sufferings for me*, by these lines to acknowledge it to you,—so I think it unfit to mention, by writ, any particulars, but to refer you to the faithful relation of this honest bearer, Mungo Murray; being confident that the same generosity which has made you hazard so much as you have done for my service, will at this time induce you to testify your affection to me as there shall be occasion; assuring you that, for what you have already done, I shall ever remain your most assured friend,

"CHARLES R.

"Windsor, 27th January 1642."

* "The protestation of James earl of Montrose, Archibald lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall." Dated last day of February, 1642."—*Cumbernauld Papers*.

The expressions in this letter, as well as those used in another about to be quoted, are contradictory of all the popular calumnies relative to the principles, the motives, and the facts attending Montrose's secret attachment to Charles at this period, and his corresponding defection from the covenanting leaders. The king himself declares, that in the whole matter he found Montrose disinterested, generous, and a man of "much honour."*

* In a very scurrilous document, to be afterwards noticed, dated in 1650, and entitled a Declaration of the Committee of Estates, &c., against Montrose,—the following disingenuous argument is raised upon the proceedings narrated above : " And the authors and formators of these troubles were, *with his majesty's consent*, referred to the trial and censure of the respective parliaments in both kingdoms ; of which number, James Graham, then earl of Montrose, was found to be one, and therefore imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. His late majesty himself, then, being judge, we are justified, and James Graham condemned ; for his majesty having come in person to this kingdom, parted *a contented king from a contented people*, leaving him to be arraigned before the commission appointed by his majesty and the Estates of parliament for the trial of incendiaries." This declaration appears to have been drawn up by Archibald Johnston.

CHAPTER VII.

Montrose in Retirement—His Accomplishments—Conservative Attempts of the Earl and his Friends, suggested by a Letter from the King to him—Refutation of the Calumny that he had offered to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle—The King's Letters to these Statesmen—Hamilton joins Argyle in Scotland—Montrose's Advice to the Queen—Is superseded in her Councils by Hamilton—Montrose's sarcastic Pasquil against Hamilton—The King follows the Advice of Hamilton, and confers a Dukedom upon him—Policy of the Favourite—Fails to deceive Montrose, who endeavours to raise a Force in Support of the Throne—Montrose confers with Huntly—Argyle attempts to seduce Montrose—His Conference with Henderson on the Banks of the Forth—Convention and General Assembly of June 1643—The Lord Advocate Commissioner—Solemn League and Covenant—Comparison of the Sentiments of Montrose and the Lord Advocate on the Subject—Extracts from the Lord Advocate's Diary, showing the State of his Mind at this Crisis—His Account of the Swearing of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Thus discomfited by an unscrupulous cabal, but happy in the possession of an enlightened mind, a clear conscience, and the express approbation of his sovereign, Montrose spent several months of the year 1642 in domestic retirement. It would be interesting to follow him thither, but unfortunately even Dr Wishart, the author most likely to have satisfied our curiosity in that respect, has omitted to do so. He merely remarks, that when he was set at liberty "he went to his own house, and remained there some time." He tells us, however, that "Montrose was a man of an excellent genius, and when he had any spare time from public business, used to divert himself with poetical compositions, in which he succeeded very happily."

Amongst his fugitive pieces that have come down to us, there is one in which may be traced, not only the disgust he had now been taught for *committee* government, but a strain of deeper and more melancholy feeling at the prospect to king and country, too surely disclosed by the faithlessness of the times. It will be remembered that, in the letter urging Charles to go to Scotland, the king is solemnly warned to distrust those about him,—“they are flatterers, and therefore cannot be friends, they *follow your fortune*, and love not your person ;” and the lines we now quote, from his poem “On False Friends,” will be found to contain the same idea :—

Then break afflicted heart, and live not in these days
 When all prove merchants of their faith, none trusts what other says ;
 For when the Sun doth shine, then shadows do appear,
 But when the Sun doth hide his face, they with the Sun retein ;
 Some friends as shadows are, and *fortune as the Sun*,
 They never proffer any help till fortune hath begun ;
 But if in any case, fortune shall first decay,
 Then they, as shadows of the Sun, with fortune pass away.

It was now manifestly the determination of the rulers of Scotland to join the parliament against their sovereign. But for those who had the best interests of the country, no less than of the king, sincerely at heart, it was no easy matter to bring their principles effectually into play, or even into a fair light. If they met together in private, they were denounced as plotters. If they dared to make their appearance in public, with such following as was suitable to their rank, and as the state of the times fully justified, they were exclaimed against as an hostile array, about to deluge the country with the blood of its inhabitants ; and, moreover, the loyal party were denounced, in reference to Montrose's bond, as “the Banders,” while the leading revolutionists arrogated to themselves the deceptive title of “Conservators of the Peace” between the two kingdoms.*

* In the Napier charter-chest there is the original draft, in the

Early in the month of May 1642, Montrose and his nephew Keir, accompanied by the Lord Ogilvy, rode to York, apparently to hold some communication with his majesty. Spalding states that Charles, referring to the act by which they were excluded from his presence, forbade their approach to him nearer than one post; but he adds, "it was thought that they had conference with some of the king's servants, where-

handwriting of Lord Napier, of one of the rejected petitions of this period.

"To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, the Supplication of the Lords and Gentlemen undersigning,—With all due respect,—

"Sheweth,—That whereas it is more than manifest that his majesty's honour and lawful authority, upon which the preservation of our religion, laws, and just liberties, the happiness and peace of this isle, next under God, dependeth,—which can never long continue if the sovereign power which unites us together be weakened or disabled, and which by the law of God, our national allegiance, and solemn oath at his majesty's coronation, and by our national Covenant, we are bound to maintain,—hath not only of late suffered detriment and diminution, but, from his majesty's letters, answers, declarations, and other papers coming to our hands, we conceive just cause of suspicion that the diminishing of his majesty's royal power is further intended,† in a higher measure than can stand with the duty or security of good subjects to suffer: We, therefore, undersubscribers, out of our thankfulness to his majesty for his many and great favours bestowed of late upon this nation, and out of sense of duty to God, our country, and our king,—which can never without impiety be disjoined,—do in our own names, and theirs who will adhere to us in this supplication and are not present, humbly desire that your honours will be pleased to take the present state of affairs into your serious considerations; and that you will take some such solid and vigorous resolution for re-establishing and maintaining his majesty's authority and royal power,—upon which dependeth the peace and prosperity of all his majesty's dominions, and which Almighty God it seems hath put in your hands,—as in your wisdom you shall think fittest. And we, in all humility and loyalty, shall not be wanting to assist and second your endeavours to that end, with our lives and fortunes, to the effusion of the last drop of our blood. And your Honours' answer is expected by your"————

† Referring to his majesty's report to his council of Scotland, after his return from thence in 1641, of the proceedings of the parliament in England.

with they were content, and so returned home again." Probably this expedition had no other object than to assure the monarch of the loyalty of many noblemen in Scotland, and their determination to support his throne. And that it was no factious or officious agitation on the part of the earl is sufficiently proved by the following letter, in addition to that quoted at the conclusion of the previous chapter :—

" MONTROSE,

" I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service. Duty and loyalty are sufficient to *a man of so much honour as I know you to be* : Yet as I think this of you, so I will have you to believe of me, that I would not invite you to share of my hard fortune, if I intended you not to be a plentiful partaker of my good. The bearer will acquaint you of my designs, whom I have commanded to follow your directions in the pursuit of them. I will say no more but that I am your assured friend,—

" CHARLES R.

" *York, 7th May 1642.*"*

This letter is important to the biography of Montrose ; for, it is sufficient of itself to refute a calumny with which his memory has been pertinaciously assailed since his death down to the present day, although the charge was never preferred against him during his life, even by his most unscrupulous enemies. A few remarks, that ought to silence this calumny for ever, will not be considered an unnecessary digression.

Clarendon, in that well-known passage of his history where

* There are no entries in the Advocate's Diary for the year 1642 of historical importance ; but the following is characteristic :—

" 3d July 1642. Item, this night, betwixt 12 and 1, I dreamt that I was with one in a wilderness, or moss, and having a ring that I lost the diamond was therein. Item, about 3 in the morning advertisement came that my daughter Mary was sick of the childbirth ; whereon I was affrayit, because of my dream. But I had recourse to the Lord in prayer, and rested on his Majesty."

he speaks of the rivalry betwixt Montrose and Argyle, proceeds to say, in reference to the former :—" But now, after his majesty arrived in Scotland, by the introduction of Mr William Murray of the bed-chamber, he *came privately to the king*, and informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the rebellion, and that the Marquis of Hamilton was no less faulty and false towards his majesty than Argyle ; and offered to make proof of all in the parliament, but rather desired to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do ; but the king, *abhorring* that expedient for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the parliament."*

After the proofs we have produced of the enmity practised against Montrose, and of the jealousy with which he was secluded in the castle, it will at once occur to the reader, that the statement now quoted is extremely incorrect. William Murray was not constable of Edinburgh castle ; and if he had been, is it possible that, without the knowledge of the Covenanters, he could at this crisis have brought the earl privately to the king ? The word "privately" can have no other meaning than that the faction were kept in ignorance of this stolen interview. But it will be remembered, that when Stephen Boyd the governor of the fortress permitted Montrose, Napier, and Keir, to hold some casual meeting together within the walls of their prison, the fact was instantly known, and he lost his office for presuming to relax their confinement.

It must be kept in mind, moreover, that Clarendon did not live to publish his own work, and that his literary executors had not exercised the soundest discretion in that edition of his history which, from his various manuscripts, they arranged for the public. Hence the beautiful character of Montrose, to be found in another part of that same edition, is totally at vari-

* This quotation is from the edition of Clarendon's History (vol. ii. p. 17) published in 1826, with the suppressed passages. In the former edition, given to the public by Clarendon's sons, the words "to kill them both" had been suppressed, and the less startling expressions, "to have them both made away," substituted.

ance with the diabolical trait now under consideration. The explanation is this:—The chancellor, very ill informed as to the proceedings in Scotland,—at that time the region of whispered calumnies and secret cabals,—had been led, upon what authority he has not stated, to record this anecdote. Subsequently, however, he had obtained from the king himself all that his majesty knew of the mysterious transactions which occurred there during his visit in 1641. This account he also left in manuscript; but, unfortunately, his editors withheld it, and published the other. Yet the suppressed passage, published for the first time in the Appendix to the edition 1826, and in which there is no trace of the calumnious anecdote, is not only fuller in the narrative, but, substantially, so accurate as to stand the test of comparison with all the secret history that has been discovered since Clarendon wrote. Nor is the rejected passage without a distinct reference to authority, being expressly founded upon what, to use his own words, “the king hath told me,” and what “I have heard the Earl of Montrose say.” Thus the great historian is not only relieved from the responsibility of having authorized the calumny in question, but his portraiture of the hero is redeemed from the charge of gross inconsistency. Some of our modern historians, however, whose object is to represent the martyr of loyalty as a monster of human nature, have endeavoured to obviate the glaring error of the Clarendon anecdote, either by supposing that a private interview between Charles and Montrose was possible during the king’s visit to Scotland in 1641, or by the gratuitous theory, that the offer of assassination had been made through a third party, or by letter. It is universally admitted, however, that the king rejected that proposal *with abhorrence*.

But, by the letter of Charles to Argyle, already quoted, it appears that the good king had laid stress upon the fact that Montrose, for any thing he yet knew, *was no ways unworthy of his favour*. This was written upon the 12th of June 1641, immediately before he proceeded northward: and no sooner

had his majesty returned to England, than, it now appears, he wrote the most affectionate letters to his persecuted adherent. In particular, upon the 7th of May 1642, we find him using these remarkable expressions, in the note to which reference has been already made,—“ Montrose, I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service. Duty and loyalty are sufficient to a man of so much honour as I know you to be.” This is not the language in which that truly Christian king could by any possibility have addressed a subject who, *a few months before*, as the story is, had insulted him in private with a proposal of assassination, and had been repulsed with abhorrence. Neither would Charles have used these expressions to his secretary Nicholas, “ I miss somewhat *in point of honour* if they all be not relieved before I go hence,” with regard to any one who had just been guilty of such an outrage upon the best feelings of his nature. Clarendon, at the time when he hastily recorded the false anecdote, was well aware that the nature of his royal master was *abhorrent* of such propositions. But he must have been absolutely ignorant of the fact that the soul of Montrose was as lofty as that of Charles, and that his generous nature was conspicuous throughout his whole demeanour upon this very occasion. In his speech to the parliament, shortly before the king arrived, he used these noble expressions, a pledge he redeemed with his blood,—“ My resolution is to carry along with me *fidelity and honour* to the grave ;” and in his protestation, presented to the parliament immediately after the departure of Charles, he preserves the same tone of injured and indignant honour,—“ When we had suffered in our *names*, which, to men of honour, of all sufferings is the most grievous.”*

But to return to the transactions in Scotland, during the summer of 1642, to which the letter now mentioned refers.

In proportion as the unhappy king had been taught to ap-

* See this calumny more fully discussed, and the versions of Clarendon, Malcolm Laing, D'Israeli, Lord Nugent, and Mr Brodie, critically examined, in *Montrose and the Covenanters*, vol. ii. c. v.

preciate the chivalrous honour of Montrose, he had learnt to suspect the loyalty of his favourite minister Hamilton, and of his privy-councillor Argyle. This is manifest from the tone of communications addressed respectively to these noblemen, at the same period when he wrote to Montrose. Two days after the date of his letter to the earl, his majesty thus opens his mind to Argyle:—

“ ARGYLE,

“ This is a time wherein all my servants, that are able and willing, will have occasion to show themselves ; and (according as they now appear) will approve themselves worthy or not of my favour ; amongst whom, as it is well known your *power* wants not to serve me, so by your *large expressions* at my last being in Scotland, and having by some real testimonies shown the estimation that I have of you, I cannot doubt your *readiness* ; and therefore I have most particularly commanded this bearer, Mungo Murray, to acquaint you with the occasion of this next council-day’s meeting ; as likewise, which way I expect your service therein ; of which being confident that I shall have a good account, I rest your most assured friend,

“ CHARLES R.

“ *York, 9 of May 1642.*”*

These letters to Montrose and Argyle, in the terms of which may be traced his majesty’s appreciation of their respective characters, were written in consequence of a great council he had ordered to meet at Edinburgh on the 25th of May. Upon that occasion “there convened,” says Spalding, “in the Canon-gate, about twenty-four earls, lords, and barons, called *banders*,† and their followers, who were contrary to the Covenant, still showing them to be the king’s men ; they attended to hear the

* The Argyll Letters, recently printed, and referred to at p. 180.

† In reference to the Cumbernauld bond. Montrose, Napier, and Keir took no public part in these proceedings, probably lest the loyal movement should be entirely attributed to them.

contents of the king's letter sent to the council ; and withal they themselves sent, as was said, a petition to the saids lords of council,—under the subscription of the Earl of Montgomery, first a strong Covenanter, but now left the samen,—desiring them to remember their national oath, and oath of allegiance to his majesty, contained in the Covenant, and as good and loyal subjects to defend the king's royal prerogative, now impaired and encroached upon by the English parliament. The council gives no answer to this petition." Here it will be observed we have the substance of that petition the draft of which is in Lord Napier's handwriting, and has been already quoted. Most probably it was composed by him, in conjunction with our hero, although neither of these noblemen came forward upon this occasion, being aware that their presence would be turned to the disadvantage of the king. Baillie alludes to it as "my Lord Montgomery's petition," because signed by him ; and he declares that it was "so evil taken," that, although the council had for the most part determined to frame a threatening remonstrance against the parliament, they gave up the idea, listened to the arguments of the "Conservators of the Peace," and were especially moved in favour of the legislature by a paper of Sir Archibald Johnston's, which he had put in the form of a letter to a friend. From the reverend principal's own showing, the influence by which the final determination of the council was regulated at this vital crisis is very obvious. It was the will of Argyle, seconded by democratic agitation directed by the Procurator of the Kirk.

And this was the juncture when Hamilton, now regarded with suspicion by every right-thinking man in the kingdom, joined the Argyle party in Scotland ; for upon no rational supposition could his conduct be explained as consistent with integrity. Yet Charles, though his countenance towards him was altered, and his confidence greatly impaired, still regarded the companion of his early life with a degree of affection characteristic of his generous nature. When the intelligence reached York that the council, and the conservators

of peace, as the democratic leaders called themselves, had rejected with disdain a most respectful petition, simply because it was loyal, the real intentions of those who ruled the country could no longer be doubted by the king and his friends. Hamilton felt himself at this time in a very uncomfortable position ; for so suspiciously was he now regarded by all who rallied round the monarch, that the whole gentry of Yorkshire had it in contemplation to petition his majesty to remove him from his councils and court, as one too much trusted by those who would not trust his master. Under these circumstances, the wily favourite made an offer to go into Scotland, adding, says Clarendon, " many assurances and undertakings, that he would at least keep that people from doing any thing that might seem to countenance the carriage of the parliament." This offer was accepted, and the king's letter to him upon the occasion, so different from his usual affectionate tone, conveys no slight reproach. It classes him with Argyle, as one who required to be called upon " to show what you are ;" and not with Montrose, to whom at the same crisis he had declared, " duty and loyalty are sufficient to a man of so much honour as I know you to be."

" HAMILTON,—I have no time to write particulars. And to persuade you to serve me, I suppose that I have less need than time. Therefore, in a word, this is a time to *show what you are*, assuring you that at all times I will show that I am your most assured and constant friend, " CHARLES R."*

* Burnet, in his Memoirs of Hamilton, introduces this letter with the following very partial commentary. He says that Hamilton, about the end of May 1642, had a conference with the king at York, in which he told his majesty that his only influence lay in Scotland, " where he should use his utmost endeavours to divert them from assisting the king's enemies ; for to expect aid from them was not to be thought upon. His majesty, judging this most expedient, sent him to Scotland, without any positive instructions, recommending only to him his service in general ; of which he was *so confident*, that he wrote the following letter after him." —Mem. p. 194. Then follows the letter, without a date ; but it must have been written in June or July 1642 ; and manifestly refers to the suspicions existing against the marquis.

The marquis arrived in Scotland early in the month of July 1642, towards the close of which the General Assembly, now devoted under the auspices of Argyle to open revolution, sat down at St Andrews. It is a fact illustrative of the progress of the movement, that the royal commissioner, Dunfermline, so lately a leader of the covenanting party, was now sincerely exerting himself for the honour of his native land and the safety of the king, while "the Serpent in the bosom" was domesticated with the popular leader. "The Marquis of Hamilton and Argyle's *intimate familiarity*," says Baillie in his account of this assembly, "kept down the *malecontents* from any stirring."* By the following sentence in the same letter, it appears that his first act, upon returning to the north, was one of disobedience and desertion: "The king had written to the Marquis of Hamilton, Argyle, the Chancellor, Morton, and Southesk, to attend and assist him [the commissioner]. Argyle read his letter,† but professed his presence there alone in quality of a ruling elder from the presbytery of Inverary. Southesk‡ sat at his [the commissioner's] footstool, and oft whispered his *unsavoury* advice. *None of the other appeared.*" This assembly, or the ruling party in it, manifested, as might be expected, great deference towards the parliament of England, and a corresponding enmity to the sovereign.

The insurrection in Scotland possessed one, and but one feature of respectability. The clamour, that national establishments ought not to be infringed or interfered with at the will of a monarch, had, it is true, neither much sense nor honesty in its application to the measures of Charles in regard to the church. Yet it was certainly plausible; and there was suffi-

* By malecontents are meant Montrose's party called Banders. Compare this statement of Baillie with the king's letters to Hamilton and Argyle. Why was the "intimate familiarity" not between Hamilton and Montrose?

† The letter of the 9th of May, already quoted, appears not to be that alluded to by Baillie, as it has no reference to this assembly or to the commissioner.

‡ Montrose's father-in-law.

cient rashness in the councils of the king to render the opposition patriotic,—provided it had been rationally and fairly conducted by those from whom Montrose seceded. But now, the unremitting attacks of Presbyterian fanaticism upon the Episcopal establishment of England, and the effrontery of the combination of that party in Scotland with the revolutionists in the other country, to plant the Covenant there, utterly effaced the only claim to respect which their cause could ever present. Argyle was the mover of this powerful lever against the monarchy of Great Britain. The insane demand for uniformity,—upon the Presbyterian model,—of church government throughout the kingdoms, which, while it so grievously insulted, completely exonerated Charles, was carried southward by Lord Maitland. This unprincipled nobleman was selected by Argyle, in order to ensure to the movement its full effect.* The Earl of Dunfermline exerted himself, even to tears (a fashion it seems of the oratory of those days), that he might turn the tide in favour of his royal master ; but he wept in vain.

Upon the 25th of August 1642, the royal standard was erected at Nottingham against the rebel parliament ; and upon

* “ Upon Argyle’s contriving and motion, Maitland unanimously was sent as our commissioner to king and parliament, wherein he proved both wise, industrious, and happy.”—*Baillie*. This was the Lauderdale who was ever the bitter enemy of Montrose ; and who became the first and last duke of Lauderdale, so notorious for his persecution of the Covenanters in the reign of Charles II. Was he in that also “ wise, industrious, and happy ? ” His duchess was the no less celebrated Countess of Dysart, a title that lady assumed in her own right, in consequence of her father having obtained the patent of the earldom from Charles I. ; but it never passed the seals. Her father was “ little Will Murray of the bed-chamber.” This last was the most disreputable character of all whom the king trusted to his own destruction. He was the nephew of that Robert Murray, minister of Methven, whose conversations with Montrose have been already given. Through that channel this *gentleman* of the bed-chamber contributed largely to the ruin of his king and country.

the 23d of October following was fought the battle of Edgehill. Meanwhile Hamilton was intriguing, in the most confidential and secret manner, with Argyle in Scotland; doing nothing, or worse than nothing, for the king; but at the same time, by his plausible letters, persuading his majesty that he was acting honestly and zealously for the royal cause. In the month of February 1643, Montrose, well aware that the sovereign was betrayed by those whom he trusted, and that the intrigues in the north were tending to his ruin, again determined to make an attempt to advise his majesty in person, who was now at Newcastle. When he arrived there, he learned that the queen had just landed at Burlington, on her return from Holland,* and he proceeded at once to inform her of the critical state of affairs in Scotland. At York, when Henrietta had recovered from the fatigues and agitations of her voyage, she sent for him, to continue the conference. There, however, Hamilton also joined her, and

* The following letter was kindly communicated to me by Miss Graham of Fintry, who is in possession of the original. It is addressed to James Graham of Crago, younger brother of David Graham of Fintry :—

“ LOVING COSSING,

“ There be so much amiss, and so many abuses committed, touching my directions there at Old Montrois (as Robert Græme in the same will shew you at greater length), as I must intreat you to take the pains to goe and put ane order to them, in such ane way as you shall think most fitt. For the particulars I will be sparing, and only remitt you to what you may learn at greater length; and continue

“ Your very loving chief,

“ MONTROSE.

“ *Kincardine, 20th October 1642.*

“ I must earnestly intreat you to contrive that Mackintosh doe not dishonour himself, and wrong us all, by living thus abused with Argyle.”

Mackintosh of that ilk was married to the daughter of David Graham of Fintry. This letter was written shortly before Montrose's interview with the queen.

the high-minded loyalist, who had never been suffered by the favourite to enter the court circle, was no match for a practised intriguer who from his youth had been as it were a member of the royal family. The result of this interview is well known. When the queen put to the earl the despairing question,—“What is to be done?”—his answer was ready: “Resist, resist force with force,—the king has loyal subjects in Scotland,—they have wealth and influence, and hearts stout and true,—they want but the king’s countenance and commission,—the only danger is delay,—if the army of the Covenant be allowed to make head, loyalty will be overwhelmed,—the rebellious cockatrice must be bruised in the egg,—physic is too late when the disease has overrun the body.” But Hamilton, forgetting that at no distant time he had called Scotland “this miserable country,” and had spoken of the “insolency of this rebellious nation,” and urged Charles to visit it with fire and sword,—thus spoke to the royal consort: “That stout and warlike nation is not to be reduced by force of arms, but with gentleness and courtesies. Civil war is a thing to be avoided by all means. It were but a sorry triumph should the king succeed, and my soul abhors to speak the consequences if he fail. Let there be peace by all means; nor ought the king yet to despair of amity with Scotland. If his majesty will invest me with sufficient authority, and trust the conduct of affairs to me, I will take their settlement upon my own responsibility.”—“I see,” replied Montrose “what the end of this will be. The traitors will be allowed time to raise their armies, and all will be lost.” But the declaration of the other, whom the queen imagined to be omnipotent in his own country, that he would take upon himself the cause of the king, and support it by a diplomacy more secure and powerful than an immediate appeal to arms, unhappily prevailed. The earl was dismissed, his proud heart swelling with a consciousness of truth and loyalty disregarded, and his spirits weighed down by a sad foreboding that Charles was mistaken when he said, in his northern parlia-

ment, that "the devil shall not prevail in this country."* Her majesty, having promised a dukedom to the favourite as the reward of his services, communicated the result to the king at Oxford,—and Hamilton returned to his secret conclaves with Argyle.

Montrose, Napier, Erskine, Ogilvy, and Sir George Stirling, to whose councils were now added the wisdom of Sir Robert Spottiswood, and the ephemeral alliance of Calendar, held frequent meetings together, and contrived to transmit to his majesty the same propositions that were offered to the queen. But Hamilton had also replaced himself in the confidence of

* In the handwriting of Sir James Balfour (Lord Lyon to Charles I.), among his MS. preserved in the Advocates' Library, is the following epitaph, entitled "Some Lines,—on the killing of the Earl of Newcastle's dog by the Marquis of Hamilton, in the queen's garden at York,—written then by the Earl of Montrose.

" Epitaph.

" Here lies a Dog, whose qualities did plead
Such fatal end from a *renowned* blade,—
And blame him not that he succumbed now,
For Herc'les could not combat against two,—
For whilst he on his foe revenge did take,
He *manfully* was killed behind his back.
Then say, to eternize the Cur that's gone,—
He *fleshed the maiden sword of HAMILTON.*"

Other pasquils in the same MS. volume are dated 1643; and there can be no doubt that the incident, giving rise to these sarcastic lines, had occurred at the time when Montrose was vainly attempting to supplant Hamilton in the queen's councils at York. Both Montrose and Clarendon entertained a thorough contempt for the warlike *pretension* of Hamilton, who, indeed, was disgraced in every military attempt, from his expedition to join Gustavus, to his invasion of Scotland, and his leading of the army of "the Engagement." Clarendon's scornful prose is yet more severe than Montrose's sarcastic poetry. Speaking of Hamilton he says, "His natural darkness and reservation in discourse, made him be thought a wise man, and his having been in command under the King of Sweden, and his continual discourse of battles and fortifications, made him be thought a soldier; and both these *mistakes* were the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and more dangerous man than, in truth, he deserved to be."

Charles, and the vigorous counsel was again rejected. It had been the policy of the jealous marquis, from the time when he first excluded the noble Graham from the presence-chamber, to represent him as a presumptuous enthusiast, whose strongest principle was vanity, and his best policy an impracticable romance. Hamilton failed in every pledge made to the queen whereby he had obtained his dukedom and the rejection of his rival. At a grand conclave of the covenanting statesmen held in Scotland on the 10th of May 1643, when the king's determination, not to grant a parliament sooner than the period already fixed, was announced, a proposal was made to call a Convention of Estates without his authority; and although his grace, with the Lord Advocate for his counsel (against whom, however, was set off Sir Thomas Hope the younger), seemed to oppose this motion, it was carried without difficulty, and the meeting of the convention was fixed for the 22d of June ensuing.

In the correspondence by which Hamilton still persuaded the king that the present crisis could not be imputed to his policy, that nobleman further impressed his majesty with the belief that the lords were unanimously of opinion that they should not absent themselves from this unconstitutional assembly, but make their stand there for the throne. Charles then wrote a letter containing a qualified assent to the measure, and of this communication his minister made a very discreditable use. There is reason to conclude that instead of being disposed to attend, the prevailing feeling among the loyal nobles was, to meet in arms; and certain plans to that effect received some feeble demonstrations of support even from Hamilton himself. To him the loyalists looked, as they were commanded by the king, for advice and instructions at this critical juncture. The duke used his whole influence to persuade them that the best mode of supporting the royal cause was to attend the convention; and finding them more sceptical than he anticipated, he betook himself to the subterfuge of stating that it was his majesty's own desire that they should

be present. Then from the letter just mentioned he quoted to them a single sentence, which, taken without the context seemed to prove the assertion, and silenced, if it did not satisfy, the majority of them.

But Montrose, who knew him, would not be persuaded. One argument particularly urged by his grace was, that if they would support him in the convention of the 22d of June, the moment it opened he would protest that it was illegal, in which they were all to follow his example. This, he maintained, would have the effect of dissolving the Estates; but, he added, if this expedient did not succeed, the appeal to arms would be in good time. He strenuously endeavoured, through the mediation of others, to induce the earl, by these arguments, to attend the meeting. "I am ready," said the latter "to grapple with any difficulty, especially under one who has the high honour to be his majesty's chief commissioner. But the convention I will join only upon this condition: the duke must engage his honour that, if justice to the king be not obtained from the convention, he will seek it by the sword."—"I will protest," was Hamilton's reply, "but I will not engage in arms." So the other shook the dust from his feet, and retired to one of his seats in the country to watch the event.*

Montrose had no doubt that the intention of the Covenanters was to join the parliament, when he proposed those energetic measures to the queen; yet, although rejected in that quarter, he neither indulged in splenetic feelings, nor for a moment

* Among the Ormonde Papers is a letter, dated 1st June 1643, from Sir Robert Poyntz to the Marquis of Ormonde, containing a statement of Montrose's vain attempt with the queen. "If," adds this writer, "the Marquis of Hamilton keep what he hath promised to the queen, all will be well. But the wiser sort suspect him, and, ere long, by the consequents it will appear. There be more than pregnant reasons to suspect him and fear the worst, as some inform. For Montrose was the only man to be the head and leader of the king's party; and being of a high spirit, cannot away with contempts and affronts."

relaxed his exertions in favour of the desperate cause of the throne. Had he possessed the wayward and irritable temper attributed to him, there was now an opportunity for its indulgence. To the meaner mind of Argyle, the moment seemed favourable for drawing him into the schemes of his party : accordingly, soon after the triumph of Hamilton at York, he commissioned two of his emissaries, Sir James Rollock and Sir Mungo Campbell, to make a proposal to our hero, similar to the temptation offered Huntly at the commencement of the troubles. It was intimated to Montrose that he would be relieved from all pecuniary embarrassment by the discharge of his debts, and himself preferred to the highest place of command among them, next to the Earl of Leven, as the price of apostasy in favour of the democratic movement. In order to gain time, says Bishop Guthry,* he gave them a dilatory answer. In a fortnight they returned to him with the same offers ; but, still striving for delay and information, he professed some scruples of conscience, and told them he must first hold a conference with their great apostle, Henderson, before his doubts and difficulties could be solved. Meanwhile the Earls of Antrim and Nithisdale, and the Lord Aboyne, their spirit roused and their hopes excited by the ardent counsels which Montrose gave in the south, were in anxious correspondence on the subject of raising a force to keep the rebel Covenanters in check. About the beginning of May, Antrim, then with

* Dr Wishart refers in more general terms to these attempts to gain Montrose, and both authors are confirmed in their statement by a curious reference to the fact in a letter of Baillie's, written in July 1643, where he says,—“ Argyle and our nobles, especially since Hamilton's falling off, would have been content *for the peace of the country*, to have dispensed with that man's [Montrose] by-past misdemeanours ; but private ends misleads many. He, Antrim, Huntly, Airly, Nithisdale, and more, are ruined in their estates. Public commotions are their private subsistence.” The fact here alluded to with such spleen,—that Montrose was incorruptible,—is not the best evidence that he lived by public commotions, or loved to fish in troubled waters. It is amusing to find this deluded clergyman charging him with the notorious vice of the party who wished to secure his co-operation.

the queen, received a letter from Nithisdale, in which he says, —“ Hamilton, I do fear, hath done *bad offices to the king* since his return. My lord, I am very confident Montrose will not flinch from what he professed at York.” Thereafter, on the 8th of May, this nobleman (in a letter to the same) writes as if he had doubts of the brave earl; a suspicion probably arising from the circumstance, that the latter was at this time in communication with the emissaries of Argyle. “ I am not,” says he, “ altogether desperate of Montrose; but, say he were changed, I am in good hope you shall not lack well affected subjects in Scotland, to prosecute that point we resolved on.”

But there was no change in the mind of the loyal chief. Upon Saturday, the 3d of June, the Marquis of Huntly came to Old Aberdeen, where he had directed the Lord Aboyne to go in order to meet two individuals whom he expected. These were no other than Montrose himself, and the eldest son of the Earl of Airly, Lord Ogilvy, whom Aboyne conducted to his father. This meeting was evidently connected with Montrose’s designs in support of the king; and, from Spalding’s account, it would appear that the parties separated mutually satisfied with each other. Yet, if Baillie’s information is to be trusted, the attempt failed through the waywardness of the young Earl Marischal, who appears to have been alternately swayed by his great companion in arms, and by his cunning relative, Argyle. “ Montrose,” says the principal in his letter to Spang of the 26th July 1643, “ called a meeting at Old Aberdeen, of sundry noblemen, to subscribe a writ for an enterprise, under Montrose and Ogilvy’s conduct, which Huntly subscribed; but Marischal refused absolutely, and made Huntly recall his subscription, which, in the great providence of God, seems to have marred the design.”

It was immediately after this expedition to the north, that the earl effected his interview with Alexander Henderson, whom he was very anxious to sound, that he might positively assure himself of the measures to be proposed at the conven-

tion, now about to meet. But he was careful not to compromise his character in those calumnious times, by a private meeting with the Moderator of the Kirk, unaccompanied by such witnesses as would be a sure guarantee of the integrity of his own views in this delicate affair. On a day between the 10th and 22d of June 1643, on the banks of the Forth, hard by the bridge of Stirling, appeared this celebrated political clergyman, whose head and hand were never removed from the work of revolutionary agitation, although the clamour against the bishops, for their connexion with secular affairs, was a war-cry of the faction whom this zealot so ardently aided. Henderson was the champion of Presbyterianism, and all his recent misgivings at the crooked ways of the Covenant, and something like a yearning towards the more honest and enlightened paths of loyalty,—not unmarked by the determined democrats whose tool he became,—were now merged in the new insanity of this crusade against Episcopal England. But his lucid interval came again, and he died broken-hearted, before the murder of his sovereign and the overthrow of the monarchy and of religion had consummated that enterprise. He was attended on the present occasion by Sir James Rollock, whose first wife was a sister of Montrose, though he had recently married a sister of Argyle. To meet these, there came the family party of plotters,—Montrose, Napier, and Sir George Stirling,—and, according to Wishart, some others, probably the Lord Ogilvy and the Master of Napier. For two hours, “by the water-side,” did this conference continue. The earl commenced by expressing his sense of being honoured by the visit of so excellent a person, upon whose faith, honesty, and judgment, he much relied. “To allow,” he added, “the ill opinion of my enemies to breathe itself after some little mistakes,* I have been contented to remain in domestic retirement, and am altogether ignorant of your parliamentary affairs; indeed, I am at a loss how to

* Alluding to the persecution of him in 1641.

comport myself in these very ticklish times, and must beg of you, for old acquaintance' sake, to tell me frankly what it is you mean to do." The apostle of the covenant, who mistook this for the signal of Montrose's defection, replied without reserve, that it was resolved to send as strong an army as they could raise, in aid of their brethren of England, and that the Covenanters in both kingdoms had unanimously agreed to bring his majesty to their terms, or perish in the attempt. Then he expressed his joy at the supposed acquisition of the brave commander, and gave thanks to God, who had vouchsafed to make use of himself as the minister and mediator of so great a work. Finally, he entreated the earl to cast off all reserve, and to abandon himself entirely to his guidance and confidence; and this in regard to every thing which he might desire from the parliament, either in relation to his honour or his profit. But the other had now obtained all he desired from the reverend Alexander Henderson. They had endeavoured to allure him from the path of honour, and he had out-manœuvred one of the most wily of the faction, whose confessions completely justified all the counsels which the loyal nobleman had given to his sovereign. He had only now to withdraw himself from the conference, without compromising his safety by a quarrel or his honour by a pledge he meant not to fulfil. Turning to Sir James Rollock, he inquired if their present proposals were in consequence of a direction from the committee, or out of their own good wills. "I conceive," said Sir James, "that Mr Henderson is commissioned from the parliament to this effect." "Not exactly so," replied the moderator, "but I doubt not the parliament will make good whatever I promise." "Gentlemen," rejoined Montrose, "I wish you good evening. In a matter of so high importance, I can form no positive resolutions, where there is not the public faith to build upon, and where the messengers disagree among themselves." And so saying, our hero departed with his relatives, leaving the representative of the kirk and the deputy of Argyle disputing on the banks of the Forth, as to whom

the neglect ought to be attributed of coming unprovided with full credentials. That he had not the slightest intention of selling himself to the Covenanters, and that he did nothing to compromise his honour, is sufficiently guaranteed by the fact, that his advisers and companions in that conference were Lord Napier and Sir George Stirling of Keir. After this interview he returned with his friends to the house of the latter, where the prospects of the king and the monarchy were anxiously discussed. Montrose urged an immediate attempt in arms; but Napier, who thought the design utterly hopeless, recommended more cautious measures. The earl, however, though he seemed at the time to yield to the advice of one whom he ever regarded as "a most sage admonitor," was not to be diverted from his destiny, and the result will presently appear.

The convention of June 1643, in conjunction with the General Assembly held in the month of August thereafter, gave birth to the two measures which may be said to have turned the scale against the monarchy of England. The former voted the army which, under the command of the Earl of Leven, crossed the Tweed as auxiliaries of the parliament on the 15th of January 1644; and the assembly, where his majesty's advocate presided as commissioner, repeated the Covenant of 1638, (under circumstances which, as already observed, deprived it of its only plausible feature, the pretext of aggression), by the new title of "The Solemn League and Covenant." This revolutionary charter was immediately embraced by its proselytes in England, with all the enthusiasm of puritanical democracy, and soon returned to be rebaptized with the fanatical tears of covenanting Scotland.

The Lord Advocate mentions the circumstance that, much to his own surprise, he was appointed to represent his majesty in this assembly,—the only instance of a commoner having been so honoured. Baillie states some curious facts as to the unexpected elevation of Sir Thomas Hope. The royal commission, he says, had been sent "from Oxford to the

Secretary Lanerick, blank, to be filled with whose name he and some others thought expedient." Glencairn and Lindsay were each nominated, but refused, because they felt that they could not fulfil the instructions of the king, and keep their position with the Covenanters. Hope's name was then inserted without his knowledge or desire ; for, adds the principal, " of him they had small care whether he lost himself or not ; the instructions were thought to be very hard, yet the advocate did not execute nor name any of them to count of ; for he was so wise and so well dealt with by his two sons, that he resolved to say nothing to the church or country's prejudice."*

From the advocate's own Diary may be gathered that this account of his position with his party, and of the influences by which he was swayed, is true. Moreover, the mind of this statesman, endowed as it was with learning, shrewd and calculating in the management of his own worldly concerns and in the exercise of his professional duties, was utterly incapable of bestowing upon this eventful moment the profound reflections of Montrose. The latter, too, in the first blush of his ardent career, had been carried away by the universal excitement of the original Covenant ; but by the yet grosser imposition of the " Solemn League " he was never for a moment deluded. The indelible impression left upon his mind, by the crisis we are now considering, was displayed in this eloquent burst of indignation, in reply to the clerical tormentors who haunted his dying hour,—the blood of which rested on their heads.

" Then falling on the main business they charged him with breach of Covenant. He answered,—“ The Covenant I took, —I own it, and adhere to it. Bishops, I care not for them,—I never intended to advance their interest. But when the king had granted you all your desires, and you were every one sitting under his own vine and under his fig-tree, that then

* Baillie's account of the General Assembly of 1643 is very minute, and curiously illustrative of the power of Argyle and the state of the movement. See Letters, p. 373, &c.

you should have taken a party in England by the hand, and entered into a league and covenant with them against the king, was the thing I judged it my duty to oppose to the yondmost,—that course of theirs ended not but in the king's death, and overturning the whole of the government.' ”*

To the mind of the advocate, on the other hand, even the very words “ Solemn League and Covenant ” seemed Religion, or sufficed at once to call up those vague and darkling shadows of a fruitless belief, under the influence of which minds, the most powerful in other respects, appear to possess only the weakness of childhood or the wildness of insanity. But his conscience was not at ease, and his dreams were troubled. Affection for his royal master, “ the good king,” as he calls him, but whom he must have felt that he deceived,—a desire for peace and constitutional order, and a predilection for the monarchy, against which he was conscious that the Presbyterian movement was insidiously impelled,—were at war in his bosom with his morbid affections towards the kirk, and with that keen regard to his own worldly interests which not unfrequently accompanies fanaticism. His Diary affords a most curious and instructive portraiture of what may be called the *conscientious* fanatical character of the period,—that is, divested of the hypocrisy of Rothes, the faithlessness of Argyle, and the revolutionary spirit of Johnston. One, in short, who deceived himself as well as others.

Shortly before the meeting of the assembly, the advocate thus notes his nocturnal visions :—

“ In the night preceding this 22 June 1643, after twelve hours at night, and about two or three in the morning, I fell in two dreams. By one I dreamt that all the coverings on my head were falling off, and I searched and found them all, and fastened them on again, except the red cloth, which I use upon it. Item, after I awoke, I fell asleeping, and dreamt of

* From Wodrow's manuscript account of Montrose's conversation with the ministers who visited him in prison. This very interesting conversation will be given entire in its proper place.

new, that I was at a marriage, and was clad in satin ; but do not remember whose marriage it was. And when I awoke again, I called on the name of the Lord, and promised submission to his holy will, whatever his Majesty should appoint for me or mine. The Lord make me ready."

"22d June 1643. This night I thought that a tooth, which was loose, fell out of my gums, and that I took it in my hand, and kept it, thinking to have set it in again. And it seemed to me so real, that when I awakened I thought it really true. These repeated dreams portend some calamity to me or mine. But I have resolved to submit myself to my good Lord, and to adore his providence, and the Lord give me his grace to bear it patiently."

"25 June 1643. Sunday at night I dreamt that while I was pulling on my left boot, both the tags of it broke. The Lord prepare me."*

With such circumstances weighing on his mind, the learned advocate of Charles the First proceeded to take the throne at the Assembly of the Kirk, which met in August 1643. The oft recorded history of the disreputable league matured at this assembly it is unnecessary here to repeat. But Sir Thomas Hope's note of the grand result, the signing of this covenant has been hitherto unknown, and will be read with interest.

"13th October 1643, Friday. This day the Covenant subscribed, and sworn solemnly in the eastmost kirk of St Giles, by the committee of the convention to the committee of the General Assembly, after Mr Robert Douglas had preached on 2 Chronicles, xv. 12.† And after him, Mr Mitchell, the English

* Sir Thomas appears afterwards to have been relieved by the assurance that this dream had only been sent to him in order that he might look to the tags of his left boot ; which, however, he seems not to have done, for in the month of September following he notes :

"Dream accomplished 26th September 1643. Tuesday, in the morning, both the tags of my left boot, while I was pulling it on my alone, broke ; which I dreamt of before 25 June 1643.

† "And they entered into a covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers, with all their heart, and with all their soul."

minister, spake to the same end publicly, being sitting with the English commissioners, who sat under the reader's desk ; and the nobility sat for-anent the moderator, at the side of a table covered with green. And all the persons of the committee both of Estates and assembly, sat at the two ends of the table, in a traverse table, both south and north.

"I, being there, renewed my vow in presence of the Lord, to adhere to his blessed truth against papacy, hierarchy, and all branches thereof, *contra omnes mortales*. But I scrupled at that part of the Covenant to swear to maintain the privileges of the parliament of England ; because I, as a subject of Scotland, cannot be expected to maintain, or swear to maintain, the parliament of another kingdom, and the liberties thereof.

"Item, on the 14th day of October 1643, being Saturday, about twelve hours, I took a heavy brache, whereof I lay ill Saturday and Sunday. And Doctor Kincaid and William Castlehall waited on me these two days. And on Monday I began to be something restored, for which I praise the Lord Almighty. I did take death to myself, and I humbly pray the Lord to make this prolonging of my life a blessing to me, and to the good of the public, and the glory of my Lord.

"2d November 1643. Thursday the Covenant sworn by all the council present, whereof I have a note apart, and of what was answered to me by the *Marquis of Argyle*, when I desired my scruple to be cleared. Item, sworn by the session on Tuesday 14th November, when I repeated my scruple."*

* It is curious to compare the above with Baillie's account of the matter : " Thursday the 17th [August] was our joyful day of passing the English Covenant. The king's commissioner made some opposition ; and when it was so past, gave in a writ wherein he, as the king's commissioner, — having prefaced his *personal* hearty consent, — did assent to it, so far as concerned the religion and liberties of our church ; but so far as it concerned the parliament of England, with whom his majesty for the present was at odds, he did not assent to it. The moderator [Henderson] and Argyle did so always *overawe* his grace, that he made us not great trouble," p. 387. This is the same

But still the fearful movement against church and state went on, and the advocate went with it, trusting to the hollow staff of his fanaticism, and clinging to his worldly wealth. "This night," he notes in the April following, "a dream occurred which carries some fear with it. But I wait on the Lord. It was, that the rod wherewith I walk was broken in pieces, and nothing left of it but the silver head."

objection the advocate took at the signing of the solemn league, two months afterwards. Baillie also records the intolerant tyranny by which the whole country were compelled to swear to and sign this deplorable offspring of fanaticism and rebellion, "with certification of the church-censures and confiscation of goods, presently to be inflicted on all refusers" (p. 393); and then gravely speaks of the "marvellous unanimity" with which the Covenant was every where received. The great art of democratic agitators has always been to excite the ignorant, and compel the peaceable and timid, and then to arrogate to themselves the voice of the country.

CHAPTER VIII.

The King consults Montrose—Hamilton and Lanerick disgraced—Hamilton confined in Pendennis—Lanerick escapes and joins the Rebels in Scotland—Montrose commissioned to raise the Royal Standard there—State of Scotland at this Time—Montrose's Friends at "the Keir"—Their Consultations with Lord Sinclair and Major James Turner—The Lady of Keir sends "a well-known Token" to Montrose—Montrose's Difficulties and Crosses—His successful Operations in the North of England—Takes the Castle of Morpeth and a Fort on the Tyne—Treatment of his Prisoners—Battle of Marston Moor—Its Effect upon the Operations of Montrose—Is advised to give up the Scheme of Raising the Standard in Scotland—Determines to persevere—Quits his Followers, and crosses the Borders in Disguise—His Adventures upon that Occasion—Ascertains the hopeless State of the King's Cause in Scotland—Landing of Allaster Macdonald—Montrose joins him in Athol, and displays the Royal Commission—Highlanders flock to the Standard, and Montrose instantly leads them to Action.

ABOUT the close of the year 1643, when the faithless Covenanters had broken their treaty of 1641 like a cobweb, the king sent for our hero, who was now residing at court, and put the difficult question,—“Montrose, what is to be done?”—“Why, please your majesty,” replied the earl, “the state of affairs are not the same as when that question was put to me by her majesty at York, some twelve months ago. During the interval I have not ceased to be importunate, with both your majesties, on the subject of the impending danger; and, although hitherto unsuccessful to a mortifying degree, I trust that the sincere endeavours of a most faithful servant will no longer be attributed, by so good a master, to ambition, or avarice, or envy towards the Hamiltons; but to their real motives, love for your majesty and a sense of my bounden duty. The case seems desperate, which yet were easily remedied, if the ignorant had not been roused into open rebellion

by the arts of some who, possessing the royal confidence, have used the king's own name to ruin and betray him."—"I have indeed been shamefully betrayed," exclaimed Charles, "by those in whom I had placed the most implicit confidence—the safety of a kingdom—my own honour, and my life;"—and again his majesty earnestly demanded the advice of Montrose, who replied, that, desperate as the crisis seemed, he would yet engage to bring the rebels to their allegiance by force of arms, or sell his life dearly if he perished in the attempt. The sovereign, adds Dr Wishart, "much encouraged by the constancy and fearless magnanimity of the man," commanded him to consider the matter for a day or two, and return to deliberate.

At their next conference, he still pledged himself to save the throne in Scotland, or die, if his majesty would only bestow his countenance and authority, and what means he could spare, in furtherance of the attempt. But as the garrisons and passes in that country were now in complete possession of the Covenanters, who, moreover, had solemnly confederated with the parliament, he requested an order upon the Marquis of Newcastle, commanding for the king in the north of England, to provide an escort of horse sufficient to protect him across the Borders. With these slender resources he hoped to make such head in the Highlands as would eventually encourage every loyalist to rally round the royal standard. He proposed also, that the Earl of Antrim should be commissioned to raise what forces he could in Ireland, and make a descent with them on the coast of Argyle; that Denmark should be applied to for some German cavalry; and that arms as well as warlike stores should be obtained from abroad.


Such was the state of matters, early in December 1643, when Hamilton and his brother Lanerick posted to the court at Oxford, "to tell," says Sir Philip Warwick, "a fair though lamentable tale." In the private correspondence of the period may be traced the universal understanding that the duke had deceived the king. "We hear," writes Baillie from London,

"of Hamilton's coming to Oxford, and of the king's sadness after his assurance of our nation's moving truly,* the contrary whereof he *was ever made to believe*." Upon the 10th of December, Arthur Trevor writes to the Marquis of Ormonde, that "the alarm of the Scots heightens, and I do believe more of it than I did yesterday, being satisfied that the Marquis of Hamilton—a *constant apparition* before the rising of that people, and their swelling over the banks of Tweed—is come to Newcastle." Upon the 16th of December that bird of ill omen arrived at Oxford. The loyal noblemen at court had unanimously declared, knowing his influence over the king, that nothing could be done to retrieve his majesty's affairs if the duke were suffered to be of their councils, or taken into favour. Montrose, seeing the reluctance of Charles to part with his favourite, begged permission to retire abroad, if the last hope of saving the throne was to be intrusted to those who had so often betrayed it. We could almost believe it to have been the affection and anxiety he felt for his royal master, that the earl has figuratively clothed in these verses to an imaginary fair-one; for he now indeed watched his sovereign with the devotion of a lover:—

But if by fraud, or by consent,
 Thy heart to ruine come,
 I'll sound no trumpet as I wont,
 Nor march by tuck of drum;
 But hold my arms, like ensigns, up,
 Thy falsehood to deplore,
 And bitterly will sigh and weep,
 And never love thee more.
 I'll do with thee, as Nero did
 When Rome was set on fire,
 Not only all relief forbid,
 But to a hill retire,
 And scorn to shed a tear to see
 Thy spirit grown so poor,
 But smiling sing, until I die,
 I'll never love thee more.

* i. e. Assured by Hamilton that the Scots were actually on their march.

The eyes of the king were at length opened to the ungrateful conduct of the two brothers. He commanded the duke to remain a prisoner in his own chambers, in Oxford; and forbade Lanerick from appearing at court, though he was permitted the freedom of the town. But Charles treated these state prisoners very differently from the mode in which justice had been administered to Montrose and his friends in Scotland. He appointed a committee, composed of the highest functionaries of the realm, to take, for his majesty's private and merciful consideration, the depositions upon oath and in writing, of every Scotch nobleman who had advised the disgrace of Hamilton, as to what they had to allege against him. These examinations were submitted to the king; and, says Clarendon, "there appeared too much cause to conclude that the duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty he ought to have done." Some persons of rank, of whom Kinnoull was the most forward, bore witness to his treacherous conduct in his recent government of Scotland. But the depositions of Montrose, Nithisdale, Aboyne, and Ogilvy, among the highest minded of the northern aristocracy, and the least likely to compromise their honour by the assertion of what they did not believe, embraced the most serious charges against him. These noblemen, whom Baillie ironically terms the "good quaternion," pledged themselves, without the slightest hesitation, to substantiate the allegations they had signed. There were no absurdities, confusion, or contradiction in this evidence as in the covenanting processes; nor were there any concealments from the party accused. From Montrose, the informations, upon which his libel had been framed, were obstinately and constantly withheld. But on the first night of Hamilton's restraint, Secretary Nicholas,—who had been one of the committee of investigation, along with the Lord Keeper, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of Exchequer,—was sent to him by his gracious master, not only with assurances of ample justice, but with a full copy of the declarations which had been emitted against him.




To whatever extent the deposition of Montrose might influence Charles in the measures he now adopted against Hamilton, still, we are positively assured by Clarendon, it was not that information which determined his majesty. The principal charges,—in preferring which the earl and his friends meant simply to justify their anxiety to exclude him from the king's councils at this critical period,—referred to the duke's secret connexions with the Covenanters prior to the act of oblivion in 1641. That act his majesty was willing to extend even to the very peculiar case of the accused ; but there were two circumstances in the subsequent conduct of both brothers which no plausibility could evade, and which was proved by evidence not to be doubted. Kinnoull, Roxburgh, and others, unanimously declared they were induced to join the late Convention in Scotland, by having been made to believe that such was the wish of the sovereign, whose letter was garbled to sustain that belief. Lanerick himself had applied the privy seal to the proclamation which called together the very army now on its march against England. These were the facts which determined Charles at this time to place the duke under restraint, and to exclude from court the northern Secretary of State,—and not the informations of Montrose, to which alone Hamilton's fall is generally attributed.*

* Hamilton was sent to the castle of Pendennis. Lanerick fled from his arrest at Oxford, and his conduct tends strongly to confirm the accusations against the brothers. He proceeded instantly to the parliament of London, and made common cause with the Scotch faction against the king. Baillie writes to Scotland,—“ Lanerick, the night before he was to be sent to Ludlow castle in Wales, came away to Windsor as James Cunningham Robertland's brother's groom. When he comes to Scotland *he will tell many tales*. Since he came here [London] *he has had my chamber and bed*.” Surely this indicates a good understanding previously existing betwixt the covenanting faction and the Hamiltons. We learn from Bishop Guthry the nature of the tales the fugitive told in Scotland. “ The Earl of Lanerick, being lately come down from the commissioners at London, appeared, and gave such evidences of his deep sorrow for adhering to the king so long,—with such malicious reflections upon his sacred majesty, that

It was in the first month of spring, in the year 1644, that Montrose was invested with the royal authority for his celebrated adventure against the now triumphant career of the Presbyterian dictatorship. With a foresight and moderation which refute the imputation of thoughtlessness and boundless ambition, he declined the command in chief, and proposed to place himself under the orders of his majesty's nephew. Accordingly his commission, dated at Oxford on the 1st day of February 1644, and still preserved in the family charter-chest, appoints him Lieutenant-general of all his majesty's forces raised or to be raised in Scotland, or brought thither from England or elsewhere ; directs that he shall act under Prince Maurice, who is styled Lieutenant-governor and Captain-general of Scotland ; and that he receive his orders from the prince, if present, or from his majesty ; but with all the privileges attached to the commission of the prince in absence of the latter.

The principal difficulty which now presented itself to Montrose, was to reach in safety that part of Scotland where he hoped to resuscitate the slumbering loyalty of his country. But the king was totally unable at this time to bestow upon his general, in this important expedition, even a single troop to protect his person across the Borders. His commission and his sword were his only strength when, amidst triumphant anarchy, he pledged himself to restore the throne or perish. But already had the Earl of Antrim, impelled by the resistless enthusiasm of our hero, and further encouraged by a marquisate from Charles, taken his departure in order to prepare for a landing in the county of Argyle, with ten thousand of the wild men of Ulster ; and this he had promised to accomplish as early as possible in the ensuing April. In that month, accord-

I forbear to express them,—as made his conversion to be unfeigned ; and so was received to the Covenant, and acted afterwards so vigorously in the cause, that ere long he was preferred to be a ruling elder." Lanerick, be it remembered, is invariably distinguished as honest and loyal compared with the duke.



ingly, Montrose was on the banks of the Annan with about two hundred horse, including the noblemen and gentlemen of his own party ; to which was added a force not exceeding eight hundred foot and three troops of cavalry, belonging to the militia of the northern counties of England. These soldiers he had procured by his personal entreaties from the Marquis of Newcastle, who with difficulty was prevailed upon to afford even this aid to the noble adventurer. But it proved of little avail ; for, corrupted by Sir Richard Graham, a renegade courtier whose influence prevailed in Cumberland and Westmoreland, most of them deserted. Under all these disadvantages, Montrose contrived to take possession of the town of Dumfries ; and there, about the middle of April, he raised the royal standard, supported by the Earls of Crawford, Nithisdale, Traquair, Kinnoull, Carnwath, the Lords Aboyne, Ogilvy, Herries, and a few other loyalists of distinction.

Even now, when "the Covenant," with its monstrous addition of "the Solemn League," appeared to be triumphant, the movement was less than ever a unanimous or spontaneous impulse throughout Scotland. The burghs, it is true, for the most part had been drilled by the Committee of Estates or by the clergy into hopeless disloyalty. The Western Highlands, where the sway of Argyle, surrounded by the subordinate leaders of his clan, was omnipotent, became of course subservient to that fanatic. The baneful effects of clerical agitation were predominant in Fife, Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, Renfrew, and Clydesdale, while the southern borders were only redeemed by the names of the Earls of Nithisdale and Hartfell. In the north, the Forbeses and Frasers, with Gordon earl of Sutherland, were still a formidable exception to the loyalty of the Huntly Gordons and other gallant barons there ; and covenanting pride now "cropped the causey" of Aberdeen. Huntly himself seemed to shrink more and more from an active display of his principles, in proportion as Montrose avowed his determination to advance. But there were strongholds of loyalty yet in the kingdom, whose names will be

for ever embalmed in historical and romantic associations of that period. Athol, Mar, Badenoch, Lochaber, Kintail, Strathdon, and Strathspey, with most of the isles, obtained the proud distinction of *malignant*,—a term which, so applied, indicates that fealty and devotedness of spirit which rejected the bribes of fanatical democracy. The very heart of the country, too, was at least comparatively sound. In the fertile shires of the Lothians, Angus, Mearns, Perth, and Stirling, lay the extensive baronies of Montrose himself, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling, and other loyalists, whose influence greatly redeemed those districts from the baseness which disgraced the capital and some other important towns.


At this time, the house of Keir* was still the scene of many an anxious consultation amongst Montrose's relatives and dearest friends. These awaited, with breathless expectation, the result of his warlike counsel at Oxford, which, they hoped, would appear in the form of a loyal army at "the bulwark of the north," the neighbouring town and castle of Stirling. The plotters, as they were called, over which the venerable Lord Napier, now about seventy years of age, still presided with wonderful vigour both of body and mind, included three ladies, who took the deepest interest in all that concerned the fate of Charles I.; namely, Keir's lady, her younger sister Lillias Napier, who had not completed her eighteenth year, and the Lady Elizabeth Erskine.† The husband of this last, the Master of Napier, a youth under age, was burning to join the earl; but he was restrained by the vindictive jealousy with which the Committee of Estates condescended to watch this interesting group.

Lord Sinclair, so active in the discreditable employment of breaking open Montrose's private repositories, had accepted the

* The ancient and extensive barony of Keir (still in possession of the same family) adjoined the estates of Lord Napier in Menteith; for a long period there had been a close alliance of the families.

† The lady who obtained the heart of Montrose after his execution, and had it embalmed.

command of a regiment in the army sent to Ireland in 1642, which he accompanied thither, but returned in the following year. His major, the well-known Sir James Turner already mentioned, came from that country in 1644, to report the distressed and mutinous state of the Scottish troops there. Sinclair himself was then with the invading army before Newcastle, where Turner went to seek him, and amused himself for a while aiding and criticising the military operations of Argyre, Leven, and some others with whom he had served abroad. Meanwhile their regiment arrived at Port-Patrick, in such a disaffected condition as very much to alarm the Committee of Estates. It was ordered to Stirling, and Lord Lothian's to Perth, in order to be a check upon the motions of Huntly, who was making some bustle in the north, apparently with the view of joining Montrose, now hovering on the Borders. But Major Turner was very much disgusted with the ungrateful proceedings of his countrymen in the new Presbyterian crusade against the king; and, moreover, he was beginning to be somewhat ashamed of the maxim, "that so we serve our master honestly, it is no matter what master we serve,"—a maxim which he had hitherto "swallowed without chewing, like most military men in Germany." Now, however, he adds, "I looked a little more narrowly into the justice of the cause wherein I served, than formerly I used to do, and found I had done well enough in my engagement against the bloody rebels in Ireland; but the new Solemn League and Covenant, to which the Committee of Estates required an absolute submission, summoned all my thoughts to a serious consultation, the result whereof was, that it was nothing but a treacherous and disloyal combination against lawful authority. Some captains of my Lord Lothian's (who were well enough principled, and had got good information of the designs of the prime Covenanters from the late Lord Chancellor, earl of Glencairn) and I communicated our thoughts one to another, and then I broke the matter first to my lieutenant-colonel, and then to my Lord Sinclair. All of us thought it our duty




to do the king all the service we could against his ungracious subjects ; and therefore resolved not to take the Covenant, but to join with the Marquis of Montrose, who had the king's commission."

This happened about the middle of April, when the earl had reached Dumfries, where he found it impossible either to fortify himself, or to make head against the superior forces now rapidly collecting to oppose him. Consequently he was compelled to fall back upon Carlisle, to the great disappointment of his anxious friends in Stirling, and the disapprobation of Turner, who thus narrates the event :—

" Meanwhile, my lieutenant-colonel and I had our several consultations with my Lord Erskine, my Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, the Master of Maderty, and Laird of Keir ; all of them very loyal persons ; with whom we concluded it was fit to send two, one from them and another from us, to Montrose, who was then in the Border, to invite him to come to Stirling, where he should find castle, town, and regiment at his devotion, and St Johnston [Perth] likewise. And least he might think we meant not honestly,—in regard there had been no good understanding between him and my Lord Sinclair formerly,—his niece, the Lady Keir, sent him a well known token with Harry Stewart, who was the man we sent, and this he received. The messenger they sent was young Balloch, Drummond,* then very loyal whatever he was afterwards. I believe he got not to him. But Montrose, having a little too soon entered Scotland, met with a ruffie near Dumfries, and upon it retired to England ; it seems he thought it not safe, with so inconsiderable troops, to hazard so far as to Stirling, perhaps not giving full trust to our promises ; and chiefly because the committee had appointed a second levy,

* Lord Napier's nephew. His mother was Agnes Napier, fifth daughter of the inventor of Logarithms, who married George Drummond of Balloch in 1620. Their son was never otherwise than loyal. He greatly distinguished himself with Montrose, whose exile he also shared.



which then was far advanced, under the command of the Earl of Calendar, who (with the deepest oaths, even wishing the Supper of our Lord to turn to his damnation, which he was to take next Sunday, if ever he should engage under these, or with these Covenanters) had persuaded me in his own house of Calendar, and upon a Lord's day too, that he would faithfully serve the king ;—I say, by Montrose's neglect, and Calendar's perfidy, was lost the fairest occasion that could be wished to do the king service."* It was certainly not Montrose's neglect, whatever may be ascribed to the perfidy of Calendar and others, that now compelled him to retreat across the border. Just as this lord was on the eve of marching against him, he had to encounter at Dumfries a force superior to his own, led by the Sheriff of Teviotdale, and before whom the disaffected militia of the north of England, his principal force, fled in dismay or treachery. Tidings then reached him that Calendar, with whom he had so recently been in confidential consultation, with the view of persuading the king to vigorous measures,† had accepted, almost without the expression of a scruple, the command of a new army, directed, at the instigation of Argyle, against the loyalists on the Borders. This first check must have been a bitter moment to Montrose ; for there reached him, at the same time, the well known token from the Lady of Keir, with the invitation from his friends to take possession of Stirling. But the appeal found him deserted by his miserable fraction of English troops,‡ and

* Turner's Memoirs. Printed from the Original Manuscript for the Bannatyne Club.

† Calendar was obviously all along the weak, if not the dishonest, tool of Argyle and Hamilton.

‡ Dr Wishart says that the English militia mutinied and left Montrose whenever he reached the river Annan, about the 13th of April, and that he entered Dumfries with the few that adhered to him. Guthry's account is, that when Montrose came in contact with the Covenanters of Teviotdale, the English soldiers ran away. Probably the fact is, that some fled then, and others deserted before. All accounts agree in imputing their disaffection to the influence of Sir

encumbered by a train of noblemen, for the most part timid and wavering, who had been led thus far by his heroic ardour, but whose constancy entirely depended upon his immediate success.

It was on the 25th of April that the faithless and ungrateful Earl of Calendar mustered his covenanting army at Douglas, about five thousand strong, with which he forthwith marched to take possession of Dumfries. Lord Sinclair's regiment, now suspected by the Committee of Estates, was ordered to quit Stirling, and follow Calendar, whom they joined on the 6th of May. If Montrose was prevented from attempting to reach the latter town with his slender force in consequence of misgivings as to the sincerity of Sinclair and Lothian or the loyalty of their respective regiments, he probably now thought himself fully justified in his doubts; for the very regiment of which he had been invited to take command at Stirling arrived, about a fortnight afterwards at Dumfries, as part of an army whose principal object was to crush him. And, moreover, Turner himself was with that host, in the quality (by compulsion as he alleges) of adjutant-general to the Earl of Calendar, and apparently a most sincere and sanctified patriot. Well might Montrose exclaim,—

Then break afflicted heart, and live not in these days,—
When all prove merchants of their faith none trusts what other says.

Meanwhile, he was adding to the handful of troops with which he had retired upon Carlisle; and, having again brought some militia to his standard, he renewed his labours for the royal cause, in the counties of Northumberland and Durham. In this he was sufficiently successful to alarm and enrage the Covenanters. It was expected that Calendar, notwith-

Richard Graham. The Earl of Nithisdale, in a letter to Antrim dated from Carlisle, May 2, 1643, speaks of the treacherous disloyalty of "good Sir Richard Graham, and a number of roundheads in these parts," and adds, that Sir Richard is the head of the puritans of this country, "as in acquittal to your lady for raising him out of the dung-hill."

standing his alleged partiality "for his old friends the Banners,"* would devour him before a month elapsed; and that Argyle, also busy in the north, must already have utterly destroyed Huntly. Baillie, now a delegate to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, writes, on the 3d of May, 1644,—“Argyle, I hope, by this has gotten order of Huntly, and Calendar of Montrose.” On the 31st of the same month, however, he says,—“Montrose ravages at his pleasure in all Northumberland and bishopric: we hope it shall not be so long;”—and, in the following month,—“the delay of Calendar’s incoming so long has given time to the Marquis of Montrose to make havoc of the northern counties, which will make the siege of Newcastle the harder; and without Newcastle this city will hardly put off this winter.” To relieve that town, and harass the rebels in the north of England, was the important object to which Montrose now directed his efforts with resources thus precarious and meagre. The principal results of “his ravages” in those counties were, that he took the castle of Morpeth (a recent acquisition of the Covenanters) after an obstinate siege of twenty days, in which he sustained the loss of 1 major, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 180 soldiers, and an expenditure of 200 cannon shot. From his prisoners,—whom he ever treated and protected in a manner totally inconsistent with the calumny of his cruelty in war,—he exacted the brittle promise that they would never more fight against the king, and so dismissed them.† He stormed a fort at the mouth of the Tyne, which had been lately taken by the Scots, and dismissed the garrison upon the same terms as he had done that of Morpeth. Moreover, he threw plentiful supplies into Newcastle of corn and other provisions gathered from the neighbouring counties, an exploit

* Baillie.

† The garrison marched out, and the keys of Morpeth were delivered on the 29th May 1644 to Montrose, who thereafter gave an entertainment to the principal officers of the enemy.

which could only have been effected by the greatest skill and daring.

It will be observed, that in the passage we have quoted from Baillie, dated in the month of June, Montrose is styled marquis. He had not, however, as is generally supposed, departed from Oxford with that new title, the patent for which is dated three months later than his commission as Lieutenant-general of Scotland. There is still preserved, in the charter-chest of his family, the warrant for a patent under the great seal of Charles I., for creating James earl of Montrose, and the heirs-male of his body, Marquises of Montrose; dated at Oxford the 6th of May 1644, supersigned by the king, and countersigned by Sir Robert Spottiswood, secretary.* This was about the time of his dashing and successful evolutions in the north of England. But the partial gleam was destined too soon to be clouded. Prince Rupert, with ill-judged impetuosity, risked and lost the battle of Marston Moor; and Montrose, who, in obedience to letters just received, was making all the speed possible to join the prince on the battle-field, met him in full retreat, the day after the fight. "If," says Bishop Guthrie, "he had lingered till the Marquis of Montrose's arrival, who hastened towards him with the men he had drawn together in the north of England, he had been much the stronger. But before Montrose could reach him, he went towards them, and engaged in battle." This fatal blow, which happened in the commencement of the month of July, neutralised all the efforts he had been enabled to make. It left him defenceless in the midst of hostile and victorious armies, and even induced him to go to the king, and tell him that it was not in the north of England he could be of further service to his majesty. But it appears from Baillie's correspondence, that in a very short time he had rendered himself not a little formidable to them, and even to the general who had been sent to

* The king gave the patent to the president when Lanerick fled from Scotland to the Continent.

crush him. "Calendar," he writes, "with about five thousand foot and horse, came over Tyne about the 20th of July, got Hartlepool and Stockton-on-Tees the 24th, went thereafter to Newcastle, &c. Prince Rupert had sent the most of his horse, with Clavering and Montrose, northward. We were the more willing to be sent north, because of Calendar's danger from Montrose; also to be near Scotland if any need were." But the marquis was only lingering with this splendid body of cavalry (from five to six thousand strong), in the vain hope of obtaining resources for his own desperate adventure. "Give me," he said, "but a thousand of those horsemen, and I will cut my way into the heart of Scotland." The prince whom he addressed, though possessing less talent and judgment, was as gallant, romantic, and impetuous, as Montrose himself. But he was impracticable; and, says Sir Philip Warwick, "a little sharpness of temper of body, and uncommunicableness in society or council, by seeming with a pish to neglect all another said and he approved not,—made him less grateful than his friends wished." Carried at first by the irresistible enthusiasm of the Scottish hero, he frankly offered him a thousand of his horse to take across the Borders. But the very next day, moved by the cautious counsel of some around him, when caution came too late, or by the caprice of an irritable temper at a trying crisis, he withdrew his offer,—and added one to the many pangs of indignant disappointment which those faithless times inflicted on the towering spirit of Montrose.

His little army being dispersed or left with Prince Rupert, and his noble associates dispirited and wavering, he returned to Carlisle. The first expedient that occurred to him in this critical and alarming posture of affairs, was to send Lord Ogilvy and Sir William Rollock into the north, so disguised as to elude the vigilance of the Covenanters, in order to ascertain the state and feeling of parties there, and to gather tidings of Antrim and his band of Irish loyalists. These two executed their perilous mission with fidelity and courage. They returned in safety about a fortnight after; but with the unwelcome

intelligence that Scotland, including all its strongholds and the Border passes, was entirely in the hands of the rebels, who were ready to visit even a whisper in favour of the king with the pains and penalties of high treason. Moreover, there were no certain tidings of the promised aid from Ireland. Such was the position of matters when the royal lieutenant held a consultation, with the noblemen and gentlemen who had hitherto followed him, as to what proceedings they should now adopt. Some advised him to return to Oxford, and inform his majesty that, under all the unforeseen circumstances, the expedition was utterly hopeless. Others said, that he ought to enclose his commission, with an explanatory letter to the king, and retire abroad until a more favourable opportunity presented itself. All agreed that his contemplated expedition was now altogether impracticable. There remained with him only about a hundred cavaliers, of whom the greater proportion, however loyal, were quite averse from following the adventure further. Montrose,—whose determination to support the cause of monarchy was only to be compared to that of the knights of chivalry, with whom impossibilities were no reason for turning back from the object they meant to achieve,—acceded, or seemed to accede, to reasoning which was too well founded ; but at the same time he inwardly adopted the resolution of making an attempt and incurring the risk, even should he go alone.

Some time, then, about the end of July, or beginning of August, 1644, this gallant chief and his hundred cavaliers, of whom the greater number were noblemen and gentlemen, left the town of Carlisle with the purpose of joining his majesty. The Earl of Crawford, however, retired to the garrison of Newcastle, which had not yet fallen into the hands of the Covenanters, and Lord Aboyne preferred remaining for a time at Carlisle. But Montrose still cherished a scheme of his own, which he imparted only to his friend Lord Ogilvy. To him he consigned the band of crest-fallen loyalists, with instructions to proceed directly to court, and urge the monarch to

hasten a supply of men and arms, wherewith to prosecute the enterprise in Scotland. On the third day of their journey, the whole of the marquis's servants, horses, and baggage, being still with the party, it was never doubted that he himself was with them too. But he had secretly quitted the cavalcade after the second day's march, and left them to Ogilvy, who unfortunately was not destined to reach the king. The troops under his charge were attacked on their way through Lancashire by a superior body of horse, and, after defending themselves bravely, were for the most part made prisoners, including, among others of distinction, that lord himself, and Henry Graham, Montrose's natural brother. These were all sent to Hull, the governor of which immediately escorted them to the Earl of Leven, who, in junction with Calendar, was now laying siege to Newcastle, whence they were afterwards removed to Edinburgh, cast into prison, and treated with the utmost rigour.

The marquis returned alone to Carlisle, and imparted his project to Aboyne, but at the same time persuaded the young nobleman, whom he deemed somewhat too unsteady for the critical adventure, to remain in possession of that town, while he himself should make an attempt to reach Scotland in disguise. He had to find his way through passes and districts completely occupied by armed rebels,—who would have obtained a large price for his capture, dead or alive,—to the Highlands, where he still hoped to be joined by the promised forces of Antrim. Selecting only two companions, his trusty friend Sir William Rollock, and an officer named Sibbald, a man of known courage, experience, and tact, our hero set out upon this perilous expedition some time in the month of August 1644. Disguised as the groom of two covenanting troopers, whom Rollock and Sibbald personated, mounted on a sorry nag, and leading another in his hand, he rode, in the rear of his two associates, to the Borders. There he narrowly escaped a detection that would doubtless have brought him

to the scaffold on which the gallant Gordon of Haddo* had been already sacrificed to Presbyterian zeal. Their first peril was a conversation with a servant of Sir Richard Graham. This worthy, mistaking them for soldiers of Leslie's army, entertained them with the information that his master had undertaken to act as a spy upon the Borders, for the very purpose of conveying to the Covenanters intelligence respecting the motions of the royalists, and of making prisoners any of Montrose's adherents who might be returning home. No sooner was this danger past than a greater one followed. They were suddenly accosted by a Scotchman who had formerly served under the Earl of Newcastle, and who was well acquainted with the person of Montrose. Against the scrutiny of this old campaigner no masquerade was availing. The marquis's "quick and piercing eye," and "singular grace in riding," were not to be disguised; and this soldier, passing the pretended officers, at once addressed himself to their servant, and respectfully saluted him by his title. In vain did the latter endeavour to evade the compliment and sustain his part. "What," exclaimed the other, still preserving the utmost respect in his countenance and manner, "do I not know my Lord Marquis of Montrose! Go your way, and God be with you wheresoever you go." He never betrayed the secret, though he might have made his fortune by the discovery.

Our hero's two attendants, however, induced him to make all possible speed, that he might reach his secret destination ere the news of his presence in Scotland had gone forth; and accordingly we are informed by Dr Wishart, that "he spared not horse flesh," and scarcely drew bridle until he arrived at the house of Tillibelton, hard by the Grampians, those mountains he had so often traversed. There dwelt his cousin Patrick Graham, younger of Inchbrakie, to whom he was most welcome; for this gallant scion was one of those mer-

* Ancestor of the present Earl of Aberdeen.

curial spirits ever ready to sympathize with the sentiment expressed by Montrose in that characteristic stanza,—

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That puts it not unto the touch,
To win or lose it all.

Even in this retreat the loyal adventurer was obliged to keep himself closely concealed, in order to elude the vigilance of the Covenanters. Assuming the garb of the country, he remained, so long as the night lasted, among the neighbouring mountains, and returned betimes to a little obscure cottage, near the mansion of his relative, where he lay concealed during the day. It was only for a short time, however, that he thus remained in secret. He had sent his two companions to inform Lord Napier, and the rest of his confidential friends, that he had proceeded so far in safety, and was anxiously waiting for intelligence of the state of parties in the north, especially of the Huntly Gordons. But his friends returned after a few days with tidings by no means encouraging. Ruinous fines, imprisonment, and death, were the certain portion of every one who fell into the hands of the Committee of Estates. This anomalous government was now wielding, in the most tyrannical manner, the whole powers of the executive, under the sinister policy of Argyle. Huntly had fled into the wilds of Strathnaver, the western portion of Caithness, and the most inaccessible district of the Highlands. There he sought refuge in the house of that ever-loyal chieftain Donald Mackay, lord Reay, himself at this time besieged in the town of Newcastle, along with the Earl of Crawford and other friends of Montrose, among whom was his faithful chaplain, Dr Wishart. Huntly's gallant son, Lord Gordon, was under the control of Argyle, from whom he had even accepted a command,—Haddo was executed,—Irving of Drum in exile, and his sons in prison,—and, in short, the loyalists of the north altogether depressed.


Such generally was the deplorable position of the royal

cause in Scotland about the end of August 1644 ; and such the tidings with which Sir William Rollock and Colonel Sibbald returned to Montrose, impatiently awaiting, in his solitary retreat, an opportunity to employ his new commission. But his heart failed him not, and his spirit soared as his fortunes seemed to sink. He looked at the surrounding Grampians, and bethought him of the Gael. No chieftain of the purest Celtic blood was a better mountaineer than the head of the Grahams. His own romantic estates, and those of the nobleman who was to him as a father,* had rendered his boyhood familiar with mountain and flood :

Each pass, by mountain, lake, and heath,
He knew through Lennox and Menteith ;
Right up Ben Lomond could he press,
And not a sob his toil confess ;
And scarce the doe, though winged with fear,
Outstripp'd in speed the mountaineer.

He well knew, moreover, the history and peculiar habits of those independent tribes who had obtained the characteristic appellation of "Redshanks." Disorganized and broken as the clans had become, he could yet appreciate the high value of their combined enthusiasm in such a cause as the support of their king on his native throne, threatened and shaken by the rebellious power of Argyle. Charles was still held as the chief of Scotland ; and Mac Cailinmor was the head of that once inferior race, the vast encroachments of whose selfish policy had done, and was yet doing, so much to destroy the independence of the Highlands. Accordingly, when Montrose found that the chivalry of the Gordons had utterly failed him, and was even turned against the sovereign, his indomitable spirit addressed its hopes towards those who were wont to rise, and rush like their torrents at the summons of the cross of fire.

* Lord Napier inherited one-fourth of the whole earldom of Lennox, with the fishings of Loch Lomond, and also the barony of Rusky in Menteith.



From the shepherds on the mountains, among whom he frequently spent the night, he had gathered vague reports of a descent of some Irish caterans upon the western coast. It immediately occurred to him that these invaders might be a portion of the army from the Earl of Antrim, and the conjecture was soon realized by a letter secretly placed in the hands of his host. The leader of those undisciplined warriors, having landed upwards of a month before Montrose reached the Grampians, had written this despatch to him, and, as the surest medium of transmission to Carlisle, where he was supposed to be, it was brought to his cousin at Tillibelton.

Early in the month of July preceding, the celebrated Allaster or Alexander Macdonald, so well known in the annals of Montrose's wars by the corrupted patronymic Colkitto, arrived in the Highlands with a small fleet, and about 1200 Scoto-Irish miserably appointed,—being the sole result of Antrim's promises at York and negotiations in Ireland. When it was found impossible to furnish the marquis with the means of penetrating into Scotland, his majesty had sent new instructions to Antrim, requiring him to co-operate in the north with the other royal lieutenant, Huntly, as also with Seaforth and his followers in the western districts; it being expected that the expedition from the sister isle would effect a landing before Montrose could reach his native country. Accordingly Macdonald, having disembarked his troops at the point of Ardnamurchan, sent various letters and commissions, with which he was charged, to those who were expected to join him; but he found so little encouragement from any quarter, as to be on the point of betaking himself again to his ships, and returning home. Huntly, as we have seen, had disbanded his followers, and was not to be heard of. The Earl of Seaforth, lord of Kintail and chief of the Mackenzies,* whose loyalty had been amply professed, and much relied upon, unexpected-

* The *Signor Puritano* of "the Plot."

edly joined, at this critical juncture, the covenanting party of Sutherland and Forbes (being married to a daughter of the latter nobleman), instead of declaring for the royal cause, to which his heart inclined. This was a severe blow. The power of his clan pervaded the country from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaver, and was only second to that of Argyle. Nor was the name of Allaster Macdonald, with all its imposing adjuncts, of sufficient weight to rouse the enthusiastic loyalty of the clans,—an achievement reserved for the presence of Montrose himself.

No sooner was there certain intelligence of this invasion, than Argyle projected the destruction of Macdonald's flotilla. A fleet of Scotch and English vessels was successfully employed on this service, and the invader soon found himself without the means of re-embarking his little army. Meanwhile, the session of parliament was hurried to a conclusion, and Argyle, who had been commissioned to raise troops at the expense of the Estates, and to go in person to crush the "Irish rebels," followed the foe as usual at a respectful distance. Macdonald, thus hemmed in, wreaked his vengeance on the country of the Campbells with predatory daring, for which he was more celebrated than for military talent; and the feuds of his own family with that clan operated as a stimulus to his warfare in the western Highlands and isles. He took the castle of Mingarry, an ancient residence of the Macdonalds on the Ardnamurchan coast, and performed a sweeping excursion from that promontory to Skye, and from thence to Kintail. Disappointed in his hopes of Huntly, Seaforth, and the Macdonalds of Sleat, he attempted to raise Scotland in the name of the king, and of Montrose. To the committee of Moray, sitting at Alderne, he sent a charge, commanding all men within that county to rise and follow the king's lieutenant, under pain of fire and sword; a summons which he eloquently enforced with the dread symbol of a cross, every point of which was seamed and scathed with fire. They sent it on, in haste and terror, to the committee of Aberdeen, who retained it;


and the junto at Edinburgh being apprized of the event, the Estates immediately summoned to arms every man be-north the Grampians, between the ages of sixty and sixteen, and required them to be at the various places of rendezvous before the middle of August, in order to destroy the invaders. While thus in the very jaws of destruction, Macdonald, who had marched into Badenoch, directed to Montrose the despatch which came so fortunately into the hands of Inchbrakie.

The hero hesitated not to share the fate of those whom he had been instrumental in bringing into their present predicament; and the plan he now conceived evinced that genius which was in itself a host. The loyal clans, with whom the Scoto-Irish were nearly identified in their history and habits, he knew to be capable of extraordinary achievements, if roused by a skilful application to their peculiar propensities. He knew, moreover, that Argyle, with all his vast preponderance of civil, religious, and military power, was singularly cautious and slow in his warlike movements. His first idea, then, was to take the Highlanders by surprise, and in a manner that may be called dramatic, so as to communicate the electric spark to their ardent and romantic dispositions. Having in this manner kindled their enthusiasm, he proposed instantly to lead them, far in advance of the enemy, where they might destroy in detail their ample resources, by a series of desperate blows and rapid evolutions, calculated at once to strike terror into their minds, and to attract the loyal to the standard of their king. He accordingly answered Macdonald's letter as if he had received it at Carlisle, and instructed him to march into Athol to meet the royal lieutenant. The rendezvous was well chosen. It was the district where the oppression of Argyle had been severely felt, and where the most enthusiastic admiration of Montrose was cherished. Allaster accordingly took the castle of Blair in Athol, some time about the end of August, where he remained for further orders.*

* Process of forfeiture against Montrose and his adherents, MS. Parl. Record.

Attired in the garb of the Gael, and attended by his cousin Patrick Graham, also in the habit of a mountaineer, Montrose set out on foot to discover himself to this forlorn hope in Athol, who had been looking for his coming under more or less of the imposing insignia of the royal commission. In this sudden apparition, without even the ordinary attendance of a highland chieftain, the men of Ulster at first perceived only the fine figure of a distinguished-looking Dune Uasal. But those of Athol and Badenoch, who well knew the Graham, greeted him with enthusiasm amounting to adoration, and the congenial Irish were not slow to understand and to share their frantic joy. It was in presence of about twelve hundred of these last, slenderly accompanied by the natives who had joined Macdonald, that Montrose displayed his commission from Charles the First. When the surrounding scenery, the actors, the occasion, and the results are called to mind, few finer subjects for an historical painting can be conceived than this assemblage.

The very day after he declared himself, he was joined by eight hundred men of Athol, including the gallant Robertsons, commanded by the tutor of Strowan, the brother-in-law of young Inchbrakie. To these were added three hundred of Huntly's retainers out of Badenoch. Of the Irish under Macdonald there were at this time three regiments, in all not more than twelve hundred strong; and these possessed neither pikes nor swords, were indifferently armed with muskets, clubs, and battle-axes, and still worse provided with ammunition. The Highlanders proper were in no better condition. Their weapons chiefly consisted of broadswords, pikes, and bows and arrows. But a great proportion could command no other weapons than the stones with which, on the plain of Tippermuir, they soon afterwards compelled the panting burgesses of Perth to furnish them with better. As for cavalry, Montrose possessed three horses, which Dr Wishart calls *omnino strigosos et emaciatos*,—altogether skin and bone,—probably the very same whose flesh he had not spared on his way from Carlisle,



and which he kept with the army principally for the use of his faithful companion, Rollock, who had been lame from childhood. Such, in the autumn of 1644, was the army of Charles the First in Scotland,—upon which Sir James Turner, or Sir Dugald Dalgetty, would have pronounced, that no one, above the condition of a madman, would have dreamed of leading it a mile beyond their own wild fastnesses. But the star of his destiny was now before the hero. Without a pause, he flung the royal standard abroad on the breezes of the Tummel and the Garry—suffered not a doubt of success to enter the minds of his enthusiastic followers or his own,—and pointing his pike in the direction of Stratherne, led on to the pass of Killiecrankie, after just such an oration to his new followers as we may give in the words of one who has entwined his own immortality with Montrose's,—

When bursts Clan-Alpine on the foe,
His heart must be like bended bow,
His foot like arrow free.*

* Young Inchbrakie, whose sobriquet was “Black Pate,” was uncle to the Laird of Lude, at that time a minor ; and when Montrose and he were in Athol, they usually took up their quarters in the old house at Lude. I am favoured with these particulars by Captain Robertson of Lude, who adds :—“The place where Montrose first displayed the standard, was about three quarters of a mile behind the house of Lude, on a very conspicuous place called the *Truidh* ; on this spot my father had a small cairn erected. The knoll is now nearly covered with a large plantation of about twenty years old ; it is in sight of the strath of Athol, of all Glenfender, and part of Glentilt,—so a very proper position.”

CHAPTER IX.

Preparations against Montrose—He is joined by Lord Kilpont and Others—The Battle of Tippermuir—Montrose takes Perth—Highlanders return Home with their Spoil—Lord Kilpont murdered in Montrose's Camp by Stewart of Ardvourlich—The Act approved of and rewarded by the Covenanting Parliament, and justified by the Clergy—Airly and the Ogilvies join Montrose—State of Montrose's Army—Defeats Burleigh at Aberdeen—Extract from the Council Books of Aberdeen—Covenanters provoke the Severity of the Victors—Montrose's extraordinary Marches in the Wilds of Scotland—Routs the Horse of Lothian, and baffles Argyle at Fyvie—Gayety of the Irish Soldiers—Policy of Argyle—Departure of some of Montrose's Friends—Montrose drives Argyle from Inverary, and ravages his Country—Encamps at Killcumein—Intelligence brought by the Bard of Keppoch—Retraces his Steps in search of Argyle—His forced March across the Mountains of Lochaber—Battle of Inverlochy—Song of the Keppoch Bard—Montrose's Letter to Charles I. after the Battle—Argyle's Account of the Battle—The Lord Advocate's Note of it—Baillie's Version of it.

WHEN the intelligence that the Irish had suddenly descended into the plain of Athol was followed by the still more startling announcement that Montrose himself was at their head, the Committee of Estates took measures to surround them. Lord Drummond and the Earl of Tullibardine were commissioned to raise Perthshire, and to co-operate with Lord Elcho and the covenanting forces of Fife and Angus. By this means, as Argyle was in the rear of the invaders, it was not doubted that Montrose and Macdonald would be hemmed in and destroyed. The government also "took order," in this emergency, with the "malignant" district of Menteith, whose young earl, the Lord Kilpont, they called upon to bring into the field his father's

retainers, with those of Napier, Keir, and others, and to lead them forthwith against the men of Ulster, who were termed the common enemy. Accordingly this nobleman, with whom were the Master of Maderty, and Sir John Drummond a younger son of the Earl of Perth, very speedily brought to his banner about 400 followers, principally bowmen, with whom he proceeded towards the banks of the Tay. But he was more desirous to become acquainted with the condition of the loyalists, than to obey the orders of the Estates.

Montrose commenced his march from Blair Athol the very day on which the Stewarts, Robertsons, and other clansmen of that district came to his standard. As he passed through the country of the Menzieses, who had harassed his rear and treated ignominiously a messenger whom he sent to the castle of Weeme, he retaliated by wasting their fields and burning a few houses in his progress. On the morning of the 31st of August 1644, his whole forces, about 2500, were across the Tay. Inchbrakie, a great favourite with the Athol men, being sent in advance with some of the most active of those Highlanders to reconnoitre, returned with the intelligence that a large body of troops were drawn up on the hill of Buchanty, as if to oppose their progress. The marquis advanced to meet them, and very soon came in contact with his friends, Kilpont, Maderty, and Sir John Drummond, who, the moment they understood that he was acting in virtue of the royal commission, joined him with the utmost alacrity. At the same time he learnt that the Covenanters were to rendezvous in great strength at Perth, and were preparing to attack him whenever he should appear. He instantly determined to strike the first blow, and if possible to rout the army of the low country before Argyle could arrive, who was at least five days behind him, and in no haste to come up. On the morning of Sunday, the 1st of September, he advanced towards the town just named, in the order thus described by an officer, who sent the account to the Marquis of Ormonde. "They marched to St Johnston, where the enemy had gathered together 8000 foot and 800 horse, with

nine pieces of cannon ; his majesty's army not having so much as one horse ; for that day the Marquis of Montrose went on foot himself, with his target and pike ; the Lord Kilpont commanding the bowmen, and our general-major of the Irish forces commanding his three regiments.”*

Before eight o'clock that morning, they came in sight of the army of Elcho, drawn up in battle-array on the wide plain of Tippermuir, some miles from Perth. From 6000 to 8000 foot were extended, so as to out-flank the little army of loyalists ; and at either extremity of the line was placed a division of cavalry, amounting in all to 700 or 800. There were besides nine pieces of artillery in front. Their right wing was commanded by Elcho himself, the left by Sir James Scott their most experienced officer, the main body by Tullibardine, and the cavalry by Lord Drummond. The clergy, too, claimed no small share in the command of this array. They, as usual, christened it “ the army of God ;” and, in their preparatory devotions of that morning, their most popular preacher, Frederick Carmichael, declared in his sermon, “ that if ever God spoke truth out of his mouth, he promised them in the name of God a certain victory that day.”

Montrose arranged his battle with great skill. In order to extend his front as far as possible, consistently with safety, he drew up all his men in one line of three deep. In the rear he placed the tallest, who were ordered to stand erect, while the front rank knelt upon one knee, and the intermediate, in a stooping posture, overlooked them. The main body was composed of the Irish Highlanders under the command of Allaster Macdonald ; who, being provided neither with pikes nor swords, would have been too much exposed to the enemy's cavalry had they been placed on the wings. Lord Kilpont and his bowmen formed the left flank. Montrose, on foot, with his target and pike, placed himself at the head of the Athol men, who were directly opposed to the most formidable point of the enemy's

* Ormonde Papers.

battle, commanded by Sir James Scott. These arrangements being made, the Master of Maderty was sent with a flag of truce to the covenanting chiefs. His instructions were to tell them that the royal lieutenant was anxious that no blood should be shed ; that he declared solemnly before God, he desired neither the places, honours, nor lives of any of his countrymen, but simply to do his duty to his sovereign ; and conjured them, therefore, in the king's name, to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. Instead of deigning any reply, they made the young nobleman a prisoner.*

The marquis then addressed his troops in these words :—" Be sparing of your powder,—we have none to throw away. Let not a musket be fired except in the very face of the enemy. Give but a single discharge, and then at them with the claymore, in the name of God and the King." While the armies were yet only within cannon-range of each other, a skirmish took place between some of Lord Drummond's cavalry and a few active Highlanders who were sent out to meet them. The horsemen were driven back upon the ranks of the infantry, where they created some confusion, and Montrose, seizing the happy moment, gave the word for his whole line to advance. The cannon began to play upon them, but with no effect. The cavalry charged, but the Highlanders received them on their pikes ; those who had none poured in volleys of stones, and the horse were completely routed. The issue was doubtful but for a moment, and that was on the wing where the marquis in person was engaged with the stout Sir James Scott, who obstinately maintained his post, and made a desperate struggle to gain the advantage of the rising ground. Montrose and his " Redshanks " outstripped their competitors in this

* By the MS. parliament record, it appears that the Master of Maderty was not released until the 21st February 1645, of which date there is an act for his release on payment of two thousand merks, and finding caution to the amount of twenty thousand merks, that he would not be an enemy to the Estates. He was married to the Lady Beatrix Graham, Montrose's sister.—See p. 80.

race like the deer, and came down upon them like the torrent. The rout was now complete. "Although," says the officer already quoted, "the battle continued for some space, we lost not one man on our side, yet still advanced, the enemy being three or four to one: however, God gave us the day; the enemy retreating with their backs towards us, that men might have walked upon the dead corps to the town, being two long miles from the place where the battle was pitched. The chase continued from eight o'clock in the morning till nine at night. All their cannon, arms, munition, colours, drums, tents, baggage, in a word, none of themselves nor baggage escaped our hands but their horse and such of the foot as were taken prisoners within the city."*

The most important result, however, was the undisputed possession of Perth, where the victor obtained arms, clothing, and money for his troops. It was, besides, the capital of his own district; and in this town, it will be remembered, he had once endeavoured to explain his political sentiments to its clergyman Mr John Robertson, who was afterwards examined as a witness against him by the Committee of Estates. This reverend gentleman was still in office, and being one of those who had pledged themselves for the success of "God's army," the government, in rage at the defeat, appear to have thought of holding the clergymen responsible for the loss that had been sustained. Accordingly a most singular defence of the kirk militant was drawn up by Robertson, of which the specimen in the note, taken from Wodrow's manuscript, is all that we can afford to quote here.†

* Ormonde Papers.

† "Whereas it's said, or may be said, that the Fifemen offered to assist us. In truth there were seen twelve, or thereabouts, armless men, and some of them drunk, come to the provost, in the porch of the kirk, offering themselves to serve. But such a few number could not be trusted to, so many having feared the enemies' faces before, and fled. They were unable who came in; for, first, they were all fore-faluted and bursted with running, insomuch that nine or ten died that night in town without any wound; and, second, an overwhelming fear

It was the fate of our hero to have the fruits of each successive victory snatched from his grasp as soon as earned. The blow he had struck came too late ; for Scotland was now so completely under the promoters of the Covenant, that much more was necessary in order to encourage the loyalists to unite in any decided or efficient manner. And besides, the clansmen, upon whom he chiefly depended, possessed other qualities which eventually more than counterbalanced to him their best achievements. It was the characteristic of those brave Highlanders to return to their homes with the spoils, instead of following up their success. Before their leader could fight another battle, a great proportion of the Atholmen took at least temporary leave of him, in pursuance of their hereditary habits, and without an idea that by so doing they infringed a single rule of the military profession or lost a point in the warlike game they had so happily commenced. Even before their departure an event occurred, which not only deprived him of another valuable section of his little army, but sadly clouded his recollections of Tippermuir. Lord Kilpont, after escaping the perils of that day, and contributing so much to its

did take them, that did absolutely disable them from resistance of such a cruel enemy. Their fear kythed in this, that multitudes breaking up cellars did cast themselves down there, expecting the enemy's approach. The provost came into one house, amongst many, where there were a number lying panting, and desired them to rise for their own defence. They answered, their hearts were away—they would fight no more—although they should be killed. And then, although they had been both willing and stout, yet they were unable to resist ; for they had casten all their arms from them by the way, and we in town had none to spare. In town we had no ammunition, for Dundee refused them, and that which was got out of Cupar was for the most part had out in carts to the muir. Our enemies, that before the fight were *naked, weaponless, ammunitionless, and cannonless* men, and so unable to have laid siege to the town, by the flight of our friends were clothed, got abundance of arms, and great plenty of ammunition, with six piece of cannon. So our friends, disarming us and arming our enemies, enabled them and disenabled us." This curious document will be found printed at full length in the 2d vol. of Montrose and the Covenanters.

success, was murdered in the camp, by James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, himself the familiar friend of that young nobleman, and who had joined the royalists along with him.

Wishart, who must have obtained Montrose's own account of the matter, narrates, that after having remained three days at Perth, in the vain expectation of being immediately joined by all the loyal noblemen and gentlemen of the country, he crossed the Tay, and encamped in the open fields near Cupar in Angus, not feeling himself strong enough to await in the town the arrival of Argyle with his superior forces. On the 6th of September, by break of day, ere the drums beat for their march, his attention was called to an uproar in the camp, which he supposed to be occasioned by a quarrel between the Highlanders and the Irish. Casting himself into the midst of the tumult in order to quell it, he was arrested by the spectacle of the mangled body of his gallant friend weltering in his blood. "The villain," adds the chaplain, "who had assassinated him was one Stewart,* a vassal of Kilpont's, whom this young nobleman had treated with the greatest familiarity and friendship, insomuch that that very night they had slept together under the same tent. It was alleged that this abandoned wretch had resolved to murder Montrose himself; that, trusting to his great influence with Lord Kilpont, he had conceived hopes of prevailing on him to become an associate in the villany; and, drawing him to a solitary spot, had disclosed the design, which Kilpont very naturally regarded with detestation. The murderer, dreading discovery, suddenly turned upon his patron, and, taking him unawares, who little suspected such an attack from his familiar, put him to death with repeated

* It is almost unnecessary to notice, that this was James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, the romantic circumstances of whose own birth, after the murder of his maternal uncle, Drummond of Drummondernoch, by the Macgregors, are so familiar to the readers of Sir Walter Scott. At the end of this volume will be found, extracted from the original record of the covenanted parliament, the pardon and thanks voted to Ardvoirlich for this murder. It completely corroborates Wishart's account, and implicates the covenanted government in the crime.

wounds. The treacherous assassin, killing the camp sentinel in his way, effected his escape, through darkness so thick that the soldiers could scarcely see the length of their spears. Some said the traitor had been bribed to the act by the covenanting government, others that the hope of reward alone had induced him. Be that as it may, there is no question that *to this very day* he is in great favour with them, and that Argyle took the earliest opportunity of raising him to a high rank in his army, though a man of no military capacity."

There are various proofs that it was the usual practice of the covenanting government to hold out premiums and to confer rewards for such deeds. It is also unquestionable, upon the evidence of their own record, that whoever should have assassinated Montrose at this time was certain of being received with open arms by Argyle, publicly complimented and rewarded. Nor was it from the pulpits that the people would have learned that such deeds were an offence in the sight of God; for the reverend Robert Baillie thus comments upon the cold-blooded and treacherous murder:—"Kilpont's treachery is *revenged* by his death, *justly inflicted*."*

Montrose was deeply affected by the death of his friend. He repeatedly embraced the lifeless body, and with sighs and tears relinquished it to the followers of this hapless chief, to be carried home to his parents and the tombs of his ancestors.† Thus, besides the Atholmen who returned to deposit their spoil, nearly 400 of his most efficient soldiers departed from him, even in the hour of victory. It was with a diminished force of less than two thousand followers, of whom a small proportion were cavalry, and some field-pieces taken at Tippermuir, that he again found himself in front of an enemy,

* Letter to Spang, dated 25th October 1644. The Lord Advocate's Diary is silent on the subject of the murder of Lord Kilpont.

† Dr Wishart says, that to Montrose Kilpont was endeared as "a man famous for arts and arms and honesty, being a good philosopher, a good divine, a good lawyer, a good soldier, a good subject, and a good man."

not many days after he had destroyed the armament of Elcho. In the mean while he had marched through Angus and the Mearns, to give all in that quarter who were loyally inclined an opportunity of joining him. In vain did he endeavour to redeem Marischal from the influence of Argyle, by sending to him at Dunnottar a letter explaining the object of the present expedition, and enclosing one to him from the king. But the venerable Earl of Airly, and his gallant sons Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, came instantly to the standard, which they ever continued to support with an unshrinking fidelity, only equalled by that of their leader. To these were added others of the loyal names of Ogilvy and Graham, and a few lowland gentlemen whose intentions were better than their military means; or, as it proved, than their capacities for enduring such fatigue and privations as the achievements of this little army implied. A more efficient aid was now brought to the marquis in the person of his old opponent Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, followed by about thirty well-appointed horsemen.

By this time another nobleman had assembled an army, which was also expected to destroy the loyalists. Lord Burleigh,* having collected the northern Covenanters, and rallied the scattered remains of the Fife regiments defeated at Perth, now occupied Aberdeen with about 2500 foot, 300 horse, and some artillery. Montrose, notwithstanding his own diminished forces, did not hesitate to meet him, and crossed the Dee on the 11th of September. That night, after having summoned Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys to surrender his house, about eight miles from Aberdeen, he treated him as his host, and supped there, with his guard.† On the following day he encamped within two miles of the city. Next morning, being

* The same who was president of the parliament before whom Montrose appeared as a delinquent in 1641. See p. 196.

† "The Lieutennand [Montrose] himself, with his gaird, soupit with the Laird of Leyis efter he had summoned him to render his house. He did no harm, but took some arms and horse, and promise of some men. Leyis offered him 5000 merkis of money, which he nobly refused."—*Spalding*.

Friday the 13th, he sent an ill-fated drummer with a flag of truce ; and also a commissioner with a letter to the magistrates, in which he required them to allow peaceable entry to the royal lieutenant, that he might issue his majesty's proclamations, and refresh his troops. Assurance was added that no injury would be done to the town, or its inhabitants, unless he were compelled to force an entrance ; in which case he warned them to remove all aged men, women, and children, to places of safety, and take the peril on themselves. "The magistrates," adds Spalding, "caused the commissioner and drummer drink hardly." The result will be best told by the following extract from the town-council records, yet extant.

"It is to be remembered, but never without regret, the great and heavy prejudice and loss which this burgh did sustain by the cruel and bloody fight and conflict, which was fought betwixt the Crabstane and the Justice Mylne's, upon the thirteenth day of September instant, betwixt eleven hours before noon and one afternoon, occasioned by the approaching of James marquis of Montrose, with three regiments of Irishes, and [blank] of Atholmen, Strathernemen, and some others their adherents. The said James marquis of Montrose having required the town to be delivered up to him, and having sent a commissioner with a drummer for that effect, the magistrates and council,—having consulted and advised with Robert lord Burleigh, James viscount of Frendraught, Andrew lord Fraser, divers barons of this shire, and with the commander of the Fife regiment which was then in arms, with the inhabitants of this town, and with the foresaid noblemen and divers ready to oppose and resist the enemy's incoming,—did refuse to render the town, and dismissed the commissioner and drummer with answer to the said demand. But, as they were passing by the Fife regiment, *the drummer was unhappily killed* by some one or other of the horsemen of our parties, as was thought. *Whereupon* the fight presently began, and after two hours' hot service or thereby, the said Fife regiment, with our whole townsmen and others of the

shire, being there for the present overpowered by the number of the enemies, were forced to take the retreat, wherein many of the Fife regiment were killed ; and of our townsmen were slain that day Mr Matthew Lumsden, baillie, Thomas Buck, master of kirk-work, Robert Leslie, master of hospital, Messrs Alexander and Robert Reid, advocates, Andrew and Thomas Burnet, merchants, with many more, to the number of near eight score ; for the enemy, entering the town immediately, did kill all, old and young, whom they found on the streets, among whom were two of our town-officers, called Gilbert Breck and Patrick Kerr.* They broke up the prison-house door, set all warders and prisoners to liberty,† entered in very many houses and plundered them, killing such men as they found therein."

Lord Burleigh, upon this occasion, offered battle in the same manner that Elcho had done, having his flanks covered with about 300 horse, and his front with cannon. His left wing was commanded by Lord Lewis Gordon, "a bold young man," says Dr Wishart, "but hair-brained, and who had forced out his father's friends and clients, to fight with Montrose against their will." His lordship charged at the head of

* It appears from Spalding that it was the Irish soldiers who followed into the town, and committed the havoc there, Montrose himself having remained, for the most of the time when Aberdeen was thus occupied, out of the town, with what Spalding calls the main body of his army, but which probably was no more than a reserve, to conceal the fact that he was now deserted by most of the men of Athol and Menteith.

The Lord Advocate in his Diary thus shortly notices the battles of Perth and Aberdeen :

"Conflict at Perth. On 1 Sep^r 1644, being Sunday, was the conflict at Perth, where our people were merchantlie defeated by the Irish. Item, on 13 Sep^r Aberdeen was taken by the Irish, and our forces defeated."

"1 Nov. 1644. Friday, Dreamt that I took out one of my schaft teeth with my own hand. The Lord prepare me."

† This was to release Gordon of Innermarkie, Irving of Lenturk, and other followers of Huntly, who had been cast into prison by the Covenanters.

a large body of horse, including his immediate followers. But the marquis, whose handful of cavalry were commanded by Sir William Rollock and Nathaniel Gordon, had artfully interspersed their meagre ranks with bowmen and musketeers, nearly equal in speed and activity to such horse as he possessed, and the galling fire, with which they welcomed the charge on each flank, first checked and then routed the enemy. And ere they could rally again, the voice of Montrose was heard: "To close quarters—we do no good at a distance,—give them the broadsword and butt-end of your muskets,—spare them not, and make them pay for their treachery and treason."*


On the 14th of September, the day after the battle, the royal army was at Kintore, from whence their victorious leader wrote to the king, acquainting his majesty with the success of his arms, but telling him that, without reinforcements, he feared it would be impossible to keep the field. Sir William Rollock undertook the dangerous mission of conveying these despatches to his majesty.

When the veteran Leven, who was besieging Newcastle, heard that the forces of Elcho were dispersed, he sent to Scotland, says Baillie, "my Lord Calendar with so many of his best horse and foot as, with Argyle's forces on the rebels' backs and the country-forces on their face, with God's help, may bring these wicked men to their deserved end." Sir James Turner also mentions this imposing movement, but adds,—“Calendar staid not long, neither had the leaders of the Covenanters better luck than Elcho.” No sooner had the loyalists quitted Perth than the rebels occupied it. A few days after

* Wishart records the following characteristic anecdote of an Irish soldier, whose leg had been shot off by a cannon-ball. Coolly separating with his knife the piece of skin that still kept his limb attached to his body, he continued to cheer on his comrades, and said he was sure the lord marquis would make him a cavalry-man, as he could no longer serve on foot.

the battle of Aberdeen, intelligence reached the marquis that Argyle was close at hand with an overwhelming host, of which from 1000 to 1500 were horsemen commanded by the Earl of Lothian. Accordingly, as soon as he could collect his disorderly troops, he marched to Inverury on the 16th of September. His rival at the same time proceeded to the house of Drum, and his troops entered Aberdeen the third day after the other had left it. The "Dictator" then issued a proclamation, declaring the royal lieutenant and all his followers traitors to religion, king, and country; and offering a reward of £20,000 to any one who should bring in Montrose, dead or alive. "Some," says Spalding, "thought this proclamation, given out by Argyle's direction, against the king's lieutenant-general clad with his letters-patent, was well strange for a subject to do against the king's authority."

Notwithstanding his recent successes, the prospects of this brave leader were far from being bright or cheering. He had failed in every effort to bring the Gordons to the standard; nor could he be sure for a single day of the presence of the few Highlanders who had joined him. His sovereign was unable to afford him the slightest assistance. Nevertheless, he now entered upon a series of the most astonishing exploits, traversing the north of Scotland by a succession of forced marches, sudden onfalls, and rapid retreats; again and again retracing his steps, although the winter was setting in, through the wildest districts and over the highest mountains. Disencumbering his little army of all heavy baggage, and having concealed in a morass the cannon he had no means of transporting, he at first directed his steps northward from Inverury, with the intention of crossing the Spey, still entertaining the hope of raising the whole power of the Gordons against the oppression of Argyle. But when he arrived at its rapid course, he found that all the boats were carried off, and the opposite banks occupied by about 5000 armed Covenanters, who had been summoned together to check his progress, and thereby to place him betwixt two armies, each much superior in numbers to his own. In these circumstances



he resolved to direct his march up the Spey, now occupying the wood of Abernethy, now encamped at the old castle of Rothiemurchus, and occasionally pausing, like a gallant stag beset, to "snuff the tainted gale," and gain some intelligence of his enemies. But they brought him not to bay, Argyle having only proceeded at this time as far as Strathbogie and the Bog of Gight, where he employed his troops, amounting to 4000 horse and foot, in a predatory war upon those districts. Accordingly, our hero, turning from the torrent he had meant to cross, suddenly doubled back upon the lordships of Huntly, and, from the head of Strathspey, plunged with his brave followers into the pathless wilds of Badenoch. This was about the end of September 1644.

When we consider that, in less than one month from his perilous journey to the Grampians, he had created an army of his own and destroyed two superior ones of the enemy, besides baffling, by means of those rapid marches, the imposing forces that were daily expected to crush him, we are not surprised to learn from Dr Wishart, that the marquis, notwithstanding his mountain habits and iron frame, after having attained these fastnesses, "laboured several days under a very severe illness."* It was even supposed by the Covenanters, that death had overtaken him. The zealots fixed a day of thanksgiving for this deliverance, and told their simple flocks that "the great God of armies himself had slain Montrose with his avenging hand." But, adds Wishart, he recovered in a few days; and, as if risen from the dead, struck terror into the hearts of his enemies by suddenly crossing the Grampians, and again occupying Blair Athol about the 4th of October. From thence he sent Allaster Macdonald, with a strong division of his Irish followers, to the western Highlands as far as Ardnarmurchan, to relieve the garrisons left in the castles of Mingarry and Langhaine, and to induce or compel some of the chiefs in those quarters to join the royal standard. In the

* Aliquot dies, gravi sanè morbo laboravit.

mean while, though thus deprived of the important aid of his major-general, he still continued his rapid course, through Angus and the Mearns, to the consternation of Aberdeen, which, however, was again prepared to receive him. Fourteen troops of horse were waiting for him at the memorable bridge of Dee, under the command of Marischal's brother Captain Keith, the Lord Gordon who was still under the influence of Argyle, and two generals, Hamilton and Ramsay. But, on the 17th of October, to the great joy of the inhabitants, he forded the Dee higher up, at the mills of Drum, and, wasting the lands of the principal Covenanters as he went,* once more he crossed those barrier mountains, and passed into Strathbogie. Here, during several days, he established his head-quarters, still looking for the Gordons, and exercising his army with excursions against the Covenanters, of the most daring description, for ten miles around his camp. At length, despairing of Huntly or his sons, he marched eastward to the Ythan, seeking protection from the cavalry of Argyle and Lothian in the wood of Fyvie, the castle of which he took about the 28th of October. There he awaited the return of Macdonald and such of the clans as he might succeed in bringing along with him.

The Committee of Estates could not understand why their great general, Argyle, clothed, as they assumed, with the whole power and patriotic feeling of Scotland, as well as the special favour of Heaven, and who was understood to be in constant and close pursuit of his rival, whose destruction he was thirsting to accomplish, had not visited him with a complete discomfiture long before this time. Publicly, indeed, they imputed his fruitless march to the caution of a perfect commander, sure of success in the end ; while each new victory

* Spalding says that Montrose had not wasted any lands in that country until now. He was compelled to that system from the nature of his resources, and to enforce the royal authority. Spalding adds, that " Montrose, upon Saturday the 19th October, dined in Monymusk with the lady, the laird being absent, and upon fair conditions he spared him at this time."

of Montrose was expressly attributed to the admonitory "indignation of the Lord" against his chosen people for their sin, in "trusting too much to the arm of flesh." Yet they were much disappointed at this failure of their champion; and the Rev. Robert Baillie's involuntary compliment to the conqueror conveys a corresponding reproof to the generals of the Covenant. "You heard," says he, after alluding to the battle of Aberdeen, "what followed! That *strange coursing*, as I remember, thrice round about from Spey to Athol, wherein Argyle and Lothian's soldiers were tired out." This coursing, however, was in consequence of Montrose's anxiety to raise the Gordons and the clans, and to keep his desultory followers together by constant action and enterprise, and not that he was very closely pressed in the chase. The policy of the Dictator was still to follow at a distance the active foe he feared to overtake; and, by underhand and oppressive dealing, to deter the loyalists from joining the standard, and induce those who now supported it to desert or betray their heroic leader. After the marquis had left the Spey for Badenoch, Argyle reached that river and crossed it with his army. There he met the northern Covenanters; and having spent some time in holding committees, he marched to Inverness, and from that to Badenoch, where "he left nothing undestroyed, no, not one four-footed beast, corns, nor others," because some of its inhabitants had joined his enemy. Having passed into Athol, he desolated that country also; thence descending to the Stormont, he went eastward through Angus, and so to Inverury, and Fyvie, where he encamped within two miles of the position occupied by our hero. Thus, after this "strange coursing," the two most conspicuous characters of the times in Scotland,—or, as Clarendon tells us they were likened unto by the people, Cæsar and Pompey,—were suddenly confronted in hostile array, the fate of their native country, and perhaps of England, apparently depending upon the result of that collision.

Montrose's career would have been finished at Fyvie, had his rival deserved in any degree the popular comparison. Mac-

donald had not yet rejoined him, so that his force was considerably under 2000 men, of whom only fifty were mounted ; whereas Argyle was at the head of 2500 foot, and more than 1000 well-appointed horse commanded by the Earl of Lothian. Nor were the rebels without every equipment necessary to render them effective ; and they possessed good store of powder and ball. The royal army, on the other hand, were deficient in every thing but courage and the genius of their commander. Disposing of his small force to the best advantage behind some rude fences on an eminence, and still keeping hold of the wood of Fyvie, he offered battle. A vigorous attack, led by Captain Alexander Keith brother to the Earl Marischal, was now made upon his position and some advantage gained. The ardour of the Highland troops was checked by the necessity of remaining on the defensive, and they were further disheartened by the desertion, at this critical moment, of a company of Gordons, whom Montrose had contrived to bring out of Strathbogie. Some of the hedges and ditches on the eminence were already occupied by the Covenanters, and he must have felt that hardly any thing short of a miracle could save him. Instantly he brought into play that daring spirit of onset with which he ever supplied the want both of numbers and ammunition. Addressing himself, with an assumption of the most perfect unconcern, to a young Irish gentleman named O'Kyan, whose courage and activity were well known to him,—“ Come, O'Kyan,” says he, “ what are you about !—take some of your hardiest men, drive those fellows from our defences, and see that we are not molested by them again.” The young Hibernian replied by a rush at the assailants, for which they afterwards sought revenge by bringing him to the scaffold. In the meantime, however, he did precisely as he was directed, drove them horse and foot in confusion down the hill, and his gallant company, having brought off in triumph the enemy's bags of powder which they found in the ditches, exclaimed with all the humour characteristic of their nation, “ We must at them again, for the rogues have forgot to leave the bullets with the powder.”

Five troops of Lothian's horse then charged Montrose's fifty cavaliers. But the latter had resorted to his usual expedient of mingling with the horse his most expert marksmen ; and as the covenanting cavalry approached, they received a fire which drove them back in great confusion. With difficulty were the victors now restrained, by the authority of their leader, from quitting their advantageous position and rushing down upon Argyle ; but that potentate, having enough for one day, retreated two miles from the field, and passed the night under arms. Next morning he again threatened the position of the loyalists, who were so ill supplied with ammunition as to be constrained, during the short intervals afforded them between the attacks, to melt down into bullets every pewter dish, vessel, flagon, and utensil that could be found in the neighbourhood of Fyvie, and were miserably supplied after all. But the gayety of those wanderers was unconquerable : " There," said a loyal Irishman, turning jocosely to his companions, every time he discharged his piece, and never doubting the success of his shot,—“ there goes another traitor's face spoilt with a *pewter-pot*.”* In this manner were several days spent, while the general of the Estates, who never made the slightest impression upon Montrose, retreated each night across the Ythan, to a distance of two or three miles from the scene of action, his troops having suffered severely. In one of these encounters he lost one of his best officers, Marischal's brother, who was killed when leading a charge of cavalry. Having thus baffled and galled the force that ought to have routed him, the royal lieutenant returned with his army unhurt to Strathbogie, on the morning of Wednesday the 30th of October, and there intrenched himself among the enclosures of Huntly's dwelling. Thither the covenanting general followed, and, upon the 2d

* “ *Ut quidam, quoties globulum ex machinâ, accenso pulvere, in hostem torsisset, quod nunquam frustra fecisse præsumebat, toties ad socios conversus, lepidè exclamaret: Ego, inquit, certissimo ictu, proditoris os matula contrivi.*” I do not venture to translate *matula* literally.

and 3d of November, made some feeble attempts upon the position of the royalists, the result of which was as usual the loss of several of his troopers, and disgrace to himself.

Thus, so far as mere fighting was concerned, ended Argyle's promise to bring Montrose dead or alive, or to drive him into the sea ; but he contrived nevertheless, by means of those arts that rarely failed him, to work some revolution in the little camp of his rival. He now proposed a cessation of arms, offered a free pass and protection from persecution to the noblemen and gentlemen who supported the standard, if they wished to depart to their own homes ; and even invited their leader to a conference, with a view of accommodating matters to their mutual satisfaction. The royal lieutenant, well aware with whom he had to deal, requested a safe-conduct for some of his friends, with despatches to his majesty ; this being refused, the proposition for a treaty fell to the ground. That it could have been meant sincerely is not to be believed ; for, in the previous month, Argyle had proclaimed a reward for the person of Montrose, dead or alive. Indeed the terms in which the pardon of Ardvoirlich was expressed sufficiently corroborate the statement of Wishart, that, upon the occasion in question, Argyle "began to tamper with Montrose's men, and not only to tempt their fidelity by offering them an indemnity and high rewards if they would desert him, but he also promised a considerable sum to any person who should bring him Montrose's head,"—and even the stronger statement of Bishop Guthry (who had ample opportunities of knowing the policy of the covenanting dictatorship), namely, that "divers assassins were secretly employed, and large rewards promised them for it, to murder Montrose and Macdonald, and for that end had permission given them to join their army, whereby they might have the better opportunity ; but Providence disappointed that plot."

Some of the marquis's adherents, of whom better might have been expected, so far yielded to the insidious policy of his rival as to be tempted to accept of terms by which they were suffered to depart in safety. Yet they had some excuse ;

for it was now the depth of winter, and Montrose was again bending his course northwards, as if his natural dwelling-place were among the eyries of Badenoch. Even his constitution had nearly sunk under those fatiguing marches; and it is not surprising that several loyalists, seeing no gleam of better fortune after all their sacrifices, should now shrink from a campaign of such severity. To a council of war, held at Strathbogie, Montrose announced his intention of a night's march into Badenoch; and, however willing might be the spirit of all whom he addressed, there were many of them who felt that their bodily strength was not equal to such adventures. Lord Duplin who had just succeeded his father in the earldom of Kinnoull, Sir John Drummond, his old companion Colonel Sibbald and other lowland gentlemen, now left him to his fate; on the plea, for the most part, that their constitutions were unequal to such a campaign as he projected among mountains covered with snow. Nathaniel Gordon also took his departure at this time: there is reason, however, to believe that Montrose knew it was the intention of this gallant cavalier to over-reach Argyle, and to reclaim Lord Gordon, both of which objects he succeeded in accomplishing. But no considerations could deter the brave old Earl of Airly, and his two sons Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, from following the standard wherever it went. Nevertheless, under circumstances so disheartening, the marquis once more betook himself to the wildest districts of the north.

Having destroyed or disgraced every covenanting army with which he had come in contact, and injured the credit of Argyle himself with the kirk militant, the heroic nobleman ere long determined upon a very bold measure. He knew that the loyalists in Scotland were oppressed by the individual power of the chief of the Campbells; and that, by the same means, the original Covenant against the canons and liturgy had been factiously perverted into the charter of his dictatorship, subversive of the throne. To redeem the bulk of the

people from active rebellion required no particular effort ; but it was necessary to dissolve that influence which the craft and vast possessions of his enemy had enabled him to acquire over the persons and consciences of the multitude. Accordingly, Montrose never omitted an opportunity of attempting to bring the struggle to a speedy issue, by some effective blow against that chieftain in the field. It was well for those lowlanders who felt their constitutions unequal to the fatigue of following him, that they quitted him at Strathbogie ; for no sooner had he reached the wildernesses of the Spey than he learnt that the formidable body of cavalry was sent into winter quarters, and that Argyle himself was at Dunkeld with the foot, endeavouring to *convert* the loyal district of Athol. The marquis, without a moment's hesitation, turned back upon the Grampians, intending to force a battle. In one night he brought his whole army four and twenty miles across those mountains, in the end of November, struggling through rocks and drifted snow, amidst wilds untenanted save by the eagles and the deer.* He was within sixteen miles of his opponent before his approach was known to the latter, who, instead of preparing to receive him, fled to the garrison of Perth, leaving the army of the Covenant to shift for itself. From thence he hastened, somewhat crestfallen, to Edinburgh, where, says Spalding, "he got small thanks for his service against Montrose." He defended himself with complaints that Marischal and Gordon, and even the Forbeses and Frasers, had not efficiently co-operated with him, and ended by begging leave to resign his command. Even the Kirk was puzzled to find an excuse for her great patron. "Whether," says Principal Baillie in his report of the matter to Spang, "through envy or emulation, or negligence, or inability, Argyle's army was not relieved as it should ; himself was much grieved, so that he laid down his commission, which

* "*Unica enim nocte, viginti et quatuor milliaria, per loca inculta, horrida, nivosa, et nullis unquam mortalibus habitata, cum copiis confecit.*"—Wishart.

neither Lothian nor Calendar, for any request, would take up : So Baillie was forced to take it, or it must have lain." No sooner, however, had Argyle thus extricated himself from his dangerous commission, than the intelligence that Montrose had passed through Breadalbane, and was "preying and burning" Glen Urchy, caused him to hurry to his celebrated stronghold of Inverary, totally inaccessible, as he supposed, to any army in the world,—where he meant to summon the whole race of Diarmed, to make head against his dreaded rival.*


Although our hero failed in his spirited attempt to surprise Argyle at Dunkeld, his march across the mountains was not fruitless. At the castle of Blair in Athol, their original rendezvous, he was joined by his major-general, Allaster Macdonald, who, to his great delight, brought along with him John of Moidart the captain of Clanranald, with five hundred of that sept. Allaster had been most successful in this recruiting expedition. He and the gallant captain just named had marched together to the braes of Lochaber, where Macdonnell of Kerpoch (called also Donald Glas MacRanald), the loyal chief of that country, joined them with his men. To these were added the Stewarts of Appin, the men of Knoidart, and of Glengarry (whose chief had not yet joined), the clan Ian of Glenco, the laird of Glenevis, the Camerons from the western side of the Lochy, and the Farquharsons from Braemar. When this seasonable force joined the royal lieutenant, the winter having set in, he immediately held a council of war, in order to fix upon their quarters. His own idea was to make a descent

* There is no notice of these operations of Montrose in the Lord Advocate's Diary, but of this date he notes :—

"3 Dec. 1644. Sunday. This day report came of a meteor seen at London on 19th November, being Tuesday, and the birthday of King Charles, viz. three suns seen in the morning (after the sun was above the horizon half an hour), one be-east the body of the sun, and the other be-north the body of the sun, so bright as they could not be looked on ; and above the sun itself a rainbow, with the back thereof to the sun, and the horns of it towards the north pole, or near our zenith, and this apparition did continue full two hours. This portends strange and fearful events. The Lord make us ready."

upon the low country, and take up their abode, during the severity of the season, in the richest districts of Scotland. But he was surrounded by those who were for the most part actuated by a personal desire to be avenged of the tyrannical Argyle ; and accordingly a foray in the Highlands was eagerly proposed by all. To this the marquis himself was not slow to assent ; only he desired to know, from those eagles of the north, if it would be possible to find provisions and lodging for the army. A native of Glenco, named Angus MacAilen Duibh (distinguished as a soldier of enterprise, and a deadly marksman), was sent for, and questioned on these points. "There is not," said he, "a farm, or half a farm, under MacCailin, but what I know every foot of it ; and if good water, tight houses, and fat cows will do for you, there is plenty to be had." Thus encouraged, Montrose determined, although it was now the month of December, to turn the ardour of the clans towards accomplishing that blow at the power of Argyle, which he well knew would be the most effective means of furthering his own more extensive scheme. This was to redeem the king's affairs and save the monarchy ; and the writers who attribute his attack upon that chief to the dictates of his personal feeling, have not traced the history or studied the character of the noble Graham.

At the head of this devoted body of Gael, he set out on one of his most daring and arduous adventures. The clans marched from the braes of Athol to Menzies-Appin, which they destroyed ; from thence to the head of Loch Tay, down both sides of which they pursued their fiery course. Burning and seizing booty, in the enemy's country, was the only system of war known to a Highland army of the period, and upon this occasion it was vigorously pursued. Some of these clans, though acknowledging Montrose for their commander, acted very independently of him in various excursions during their retributive visit to the dependencies of Argyle. John of Moidart and the Clanranald, with some of the men of Keppoch, were the most active on these detours from the line of march ; and upon one



occasion they returned to the camp with 1000 head of cattle. In his progress the marquis was joined by the clan Gregor and the MacNabs, and thus accompanied, he marched directly upon Inverary.

There, like a spider in his retreat, "Gillespie Gruamach" himself was now dwelling, busied with the arrangements for the meeting of his sept, which he had already summoned to a rendezvous. He is said to have declared, that he would rather lose a hundred thousand crowns than that any mortal should know the passes by which it was possible for an armed force to penetrate his country, even in the middle of summer. The month of December was now far advanced, when the herdsmen rushed down from the mountains with the astounding intelligence that Montrose was within a few miles of the castle. Not a moment longer did the cautious chief of Diarmed trust to his stronghold. Scarcely knowing whither to fly, he threw himself into a fishing-boat and escaped by sea; leaving his friends, and the whole of his country, to the mercy of the enemy. The royal lieutenant, upon whose head he had set a price, burnt all of Inverary that was combustible; and thus, in the outset of his campaign, taught Scotland the important lesson, that "King Campbell," as he was sometimes called, was no more impregnable at home than he was invincible abroad. His army marched in three divisions, of which he himself commanded one, while another was led by Allaster Macdonald, and the third by John of Moidart. Thus he traversed, by separate routes, the whole district; which was wasted,—even as Argyle had wasted Athol and the braes of Angus, and burnt the "bonny house of Airlie." The clans laid the whole face of the country in ashes, killing all whom they met marching to Inverary (amounting, it is said, to 895 men-at-arms), sweeping of its flocks and herds every valley, glen, and mountain, that owned the sway of Mac Cailinmor; nor did they cease from their work of vengeance till near the end of January.*

* The above particulars are derived from the Clanranald MS. (of which see notice in the Preface) and Wishart.

While our hero was thus solving the problem of the far cry to Lochow, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 7th of January 1645. On the 18th of that month, "a letter from the committee with Argyle, directed to the parliament, was read in the house, showing that the Marquis of Argyle had gotten a fall, and disjointed his shoulder, but he wold be weill; that the rebels were *fled* to Lochaber, and that he would omit no occasion to pursue them, and that they were now in Glen Urquhart."* Montrose, however, deserved as little the character of a fugitive as the other did that of a pursuer. Argyle had taken refuge, when chased from Inverary, in Dumbarton and Roseneath, where General Baillie joined him about the end of December. Here it was concerted to surround and destroy the loyalists in the following manner: Having learnt that they were proceeding northwards, or, as he expressed it, had fled to Lochaber, the Dictator returned to Inverary to gather what force he could, which was to be increased by troops from the Lowlands. He then pledged himself to "omit no occasion to pursue" his foe; who at the same time was expected to run into the jaws of their northern allies near Inverness, consisting of the Frasers under Lord Seaforth, and the whole covenanting strength of the shires of Moray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. To make sure of their object Baillie marched through Angus for Perth; hoping to enclose their active enemy with three armies, each superior to his own. Argyle, to redeem his influence with the clan, sent for Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, who at that time commanded a regiment in Ireland, and with his assistance he once more found himself at the head of a respectable force, to which were added some battalions from the Lowlands, in all three thousand strong. With this armament he commenced a desolating progress through the country of Lochaber, pertaining to Keppoch, which chief had certainly no mercy to expect at his hands.

Montrose, learning something of his motions, had pro-

* Balfour.

ceeded through Lochaber to Loch Ness, watching an opportunity to crush him. He was followed, at a cautious distance, by his powerful enemy, who crossed the ferry at Ballachulish. There the Campbells boasted of the feats of arms they were to perform, and told an aged woman, who was revered as being gifted with second sight, that they would give her a good account of their foe on their return. She answered quietly, "Perhaps you will not return this way." According to a tradition still preserved in Athol, the manner in which Montrose obtained intelligence of the position of the rebel army was as follows:—Ian Lom Macdonnell, the celebrated bard of Keppoch, came expressly to tell him that the Campbells had entered South Lochaber, and were burning and spoiling the whole country. He could scarcely give credit to this report. "Argyle," he exclaimed, "dare not pursue me through Lochaber." After a council of war, however, and finding his followers, especially his principal officer, Allaster Macdonald, eager for the expedition, he determined to "try back" through the mountains to the braes of Keppoch and the country of Locheil. The chiefs of Glengarry and MacLean, and the Gordons of Abergeldie, had also by this time joined him. But, more inconstant than the snow upon the mountains he traversed, the Highlanders were again melting away from him, and hastening with plunder to their native glens; under promise, however, to return at his summons. With an army again reduced to less than 2000 men, he appears to have had some idea of attacking the covenanting forces at Inverness, reckoned at 5000 horse and foot, before the Campbells could co-operate. A great proportion of the northern body were inexperienced recruits, and their commander, Seaforth, was a waverer; but the intelligence brought by the bard of Keppoch altered Montrose's plan. MacCailin was understood to be in full force; and the loyal clans were eager to measure claymores with him. Many a mountain and moor lay betwixt the armies; but he determined to take his enemy by surprise, and defeat him completely ere he could join the

other banners of the Covenant. He "was willing,"—to use his own expressions to Charles,—“to let the world see that Argyle was not the man his Highlanders believed him to be, and that it was possible to beat him in his own Highlands.” So again he faced the wildest mountains of Lochaber, infusing into every Highlander within reach of his summons the spirit suited to a new and desperate adventure :—

Come every hill-plaid and true heart that wears one,—
Come every steel blade and strong hand that bears one ;—
Leave the deer, leave the steer, leave nets and barges,
Come in your fighting-gear, broadswords, and targes.
Fast they come, fast they come,—see how they gather !
Wide waves the eagle-plume blended with heather.

Having placed guards upon such roads as were then to be found in those wilds, that no intelligence of his motions might reach the enemy, he struck off from Loch Ness into a savage and circuitous route, unvisited by any traveller. Ian Lom was bound with cords, and marched at the head of the column, with the assurance that, if it appeared he had brought false intelligence, he should be instantly shot. To this menace he boldly answered, “My business is not to fight, but I will gladly take my chance ; you will find the Campbells in Glen Roy, and are welcome to shoot me if the smoke of the burning houses is not seen at ten miles’ distance.” This speech, it is said, had nearly cost him his life ; for before Montrose reached the glen the spoilers had evacuated that district, owing to the following somewhat ridiculous circumstance. A peasant had concealed a powder-horn in the thatch of his cottage, which exploded when the flames reached it, and the report so alarmed the invaders,—by no means at their ease in the country of the Camerons and Macdonells,—that they fled with precipitation, and never halted until they arrived in great disorder at their stronghold, the castle of Inverlochy.

The march by which Montrose overtook them,* two days

* It is amusing to find, from the Rev. Robert Baillie’s account of

after he broke up his camp on the banks of Loch Ness, was one of the most extraordinary he ever achieved. It was now the depth of winter, and the mountains were covered with snow; moreover, in that wildest district of Scotland no military stations or roads then existed. Nor did he conduct his army by the usual and direct passes. Startling the herds of deer where armed men had never yet been led, they sought their way up the rugged bed of the Tarff, across the steep ridges of the awful Corryarick, now plunging into the valley of the rising Spey, now crossing the wild mountains from Glen Roy to the Spean, and staid not until, from the skirts of Ben Nevis, they saw before them, under a clear frosty sky, the yet bloodless shore of Loch Eil, and the frowning towers of Inverlochy.

It was on the second evening of this celebrated march, that, waiting for the rear to come up, he first paused with his vanguard, within sight of the camp of Argyle. Their presence was soon discovered, though the enemy's scouts had been cut off, for the moon was almost as bright as day, and some skirmishing immediately took place. No one suspected that it was Montrose in person; but, on the first alarm that a division of his adherents was reconnoitring the camp, Argyle betook himself to his favourite element, and from his boat, on the loch, awaited in safety the issue of the attack.* But just as day dawned, a peculiar strain of martial music, saluting the royal

the battle, that Argyle's report of the matter to the parliament had been, that he "*overtook the rogues at Lochaber.*"

* "By this place of Inverlochy, the sea comes close to it, and that night Argyle embarked himself in his barge, and there lay till the next morning, sending his orders of discipline to Auchinbreck, and the rest of his officers, there commanding the battle."—*Ormonde Papers*. He took on board with him Sir James Rollock (the same he had sent to tempt Montrose, and brother of the loyal Sir William), the Laird of Niddry, Archibald Sydserf baillie of Edinburgh, and, adds Guthry, "Mr Mungo Law minister thereof, whom he had invited to go along with him to bear witness to the wonders he proposed to perform in that expedition."

standard, startled the echoes of Ben Nevis, and caused the chief of Inverary to tremble in his galley,—for he well knew that it indicated the presence of Montrose and his cavaliers.

When the royal lieutenant first came in sight of the enemy whom he was so anxious to encounter, Ian Lom Macdonnell demanded of him his "*brogue-money*," the gratuity generally bestowed upon Highland guides and emissaries who have faithfully performed their office. He readily admitted his claim to the well-earned reward, and added, "Ian, will you not go with me to fight Argyle?" "No, no, my lord-marquis," replied the bard, "I leave that matter with you; but go and *do* to-day, and to-morrow I shall tell what you do." Accordingly, the minstrel departed to take his station on the neighbouring heights of Inverlochy, from whence he watched the event he was to immortalize in song.

It was early in the morning of Sunday the 2d of February 1645, that the opposing clans put themselves in motion for this deadly conflict. On the right of the royal battle was Allaster Macdonald and one regiment of the Irish, on the left Colonel O'Kyan and another regiment of the same; Colonel James Macdonald being placed in reserve with the third. In the centre was the standard and Montrose, accompanied by a few horse, and supported by the Highlanders of Athol under the tutor of Strowan, the Stewarts of Appin, the men of Glenco, the captain of Clanranald, Keppoch, Lochiel, Glengarry, and MacLean. Opposed to the royalists were the Lowland forces of Argyle placed on either wing; but his main battle and the reserve were both composed of "his supple fellows with their plaids, targes, and dorrachs,"* stationed partly on a gentle ascent fortified by a piece of ordnance. Within the castle of Inverlochy was placed a garrison of forty or fifty men. The brave O'Kyan, with the left wing, in the face of a discharge of cannon and musketry, had the honour of meeting the first onset, which

* Baillie.

was most manfully given by the "flower of Diarmed."* But the three divisions of the royal army charged nearly simultaneously, and, Argyle's standard being taken, the Campbells broke in irretrievable confusion. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The brave Auchinbreck and many officers of distinction died sword in hand, and thereby redeemed the name of their race from the stain cast upon it by the conduct of its chief. For nine miles, the slain of this devoted army, amounting to not fewer than 1500, cumbered the shores and dyed the waters of the Lochy and Loch Eil. "Few," adds Spalding, "had escaped, if Montrose had not marched the day before the fight eighteen miles, upon little food, and crossed sundry waters, wet and weary, in snow, and standing in wet and cold the hail night before the fight." Part of the price he paid for this victory was the loss of Airly's second son Sir Thomas Ogilvy, who had greatly contributed to the success ; —a man, says Wishart, dearly beloved by Montrose, remarkable for his loyalty and noble achievements, imbued with letters and learning—a favourite of Minerva as well as of Mars. This was a friend he could ill spare. But the power of the Dictator was broken ; and the conqueror flattered himself that this triumph had not come too late to save the monarchy.

It must not be omitted that the bard of Keppoch fulfilled his promise to record the event ; and in Turner's well-known collection of Gaelic songs will be found that composed on the battle of Inverlochy, by Ian Lom Macdonnell. It would require high poetic powers to convey to the English reader an adequate idea of the graphic and spirited original ; and besides, the poem is too long, and somewhat too particular in the details to render a full or perfect translation suitable here. But the following attempt, to imitate some of the most characteristic verses, is due to the fame of the minstrel who conducted Montrose to Inverlochy :—

* Clan Campbell.

Heard ye not ! heard ye not ! how that whirlwind, the Gae
Through Lochaber swept down from Loch Ness to Loch Eil
And the Campbells, to meet them in battle-array,
Like the billow came on,—and were broke like its spray !
Long, long shall our war-song exult in that day.

'Twas the Sabbath that rose, 'Twas the Feast of St Bride,
When the rush of the clans shook Ben Nevis's side ;
I, the bard of their battles, ascended the height
Where dark Inverlochy o'ersadow'd the fight,
And I saw the Clan-Donnell resistless in might.

Through the land of my fathers the Campbells have come,
The flames of their foray enveloped my home,
Broad Keppoch in ruin is left to deplore,
And my country is waste from the hill to the shore,—
Be it so ! By St Mary, there's comfort in store.

Though the braes of Lochaber a desert were made,
And Glen Roy should be lost to the plough and the spade,
Though the bones of my kindred, unhonour'd, unurn'd,
Mark'd the desolate path where the Campbells have burn'd,
Be it so ! From that foray they never return'd.

Fallen race of Diarmed ! disloyal,—untrue,
No harp in the Highlands will sorrow for you ;
But the birds of Loch Eil are wheeling on high,
And the Badenoch wolves hear the Camerons' cry,—
" Come, feast ye ! come feast where the false-hearted lie !"*

Montrose did not exercise his own poetical powers up occasion ; but the day after the battle he wrote the fol letter to Charles I. It affords an interesting illustra the hero's character,—showing that the chivalry of his attacks was not his highest attribute, but that he fel loyal patriot, and reasoned like an able statesman, in th excited moments of his desperate undertaking.

* The war tune of the Camerons was, " Come to me and I w you flesh,"—being addressed to the beasts and birds of prey.

For the particulars of Ian Lom's meeting with Montrose at mein, and also for a literal translation of the Gaelic of his son, indebted to my friend James Robertson, Esq., a lineal descen the tutor of Strowan who led the Atholmen upon that occasion

“ May it please your Sacred Majesty,

“ The last despatch I sent your majesty was by my worthy friend, and your majesty’s brave servant, Sir William Rollock, from Kintore, near Aberdeen, dated the 14th of September last ; wherein I acquainted your majesty with the good success of your arms in this kingdom, and of the battles the justice of your cause has won over your obdurate rebel subjects. Since Sir William Rollock went, I have traversed all the north of Scotland, up to Argyle’s country ; who durst not stay my coming, or I should have given your majesty a good account of him ere now. But at last I have met with him, yesterday, to his cost ; of which your gracious majesty be pleased to receive the following particulars.

“ After I had laid waste the whole country of Argyle, and brought off provisions for my army of what could be found, I received information that Argyle was got together with a considerable army, made up chiefly of his own clan, and vassals and tenants, with others of the rebels that joined him, and that he was at Inverlochy, where he expected the Earl of Seaforth and the sept of the Frasers to come up to him with all the forces they could get together. Upon this intelligence I departed out of Argyleshire, and marched through Lorn, Glencow, and Aber, till I came to Loch Ness, my design being to fall upon Argyle before Seaforth and the Frasers could join him. My march was through inaccessible mountains, where I could have no guides but cow-herds, and they scarce acquainted with a place but six miles from their own habitations. If I had been attacked but with 100 men in some of these passes, I must have certainly returned back, for it would have been impossible to force my way, most of the passes being so streight that three men could not march abreast. I was willing to let the world see that Argyle was not the man his Highlandmen believed him to be, and that it was possible to beat him in his own Highlands. The difficultest march of all was over the Lochaber mountains, which we at last surmounted, and came upon the back of the enemy when they least expected us, having

cut off some scouts we met about four miles from Inverlochy.* Our van came within view of them about five o'clock in the afternoon, and we made a halt till our rear was got up, which could not be done till eight at night. The rebels took the alarm and stood to their arms, as well as we, all night, which was moonlight, and very clear. There were some few skirmishes between the rebels and us all the night, and with no loss on our side but one man. By break of day I ordered my men to be ready to fall on upon the first signal; and I understand since, by the prisoners, the rebels did the same. A little after the sun was up both armies met, and the rebels fought for some time with great bravery, the prime of the Campbells giving the first onset, as men that deserved to fight in a better cause. Our men, having a nobler cause, did wonders, and came immediately to push of pike and dint of sword, after their first firing. The rebels could not stand it, but, after some resistance at first, began to run, whom we pursued for nine miles together, making a great slaughter, which I would have hindered if possible, that I might save your majesty's misled subjects, for well I know your majesty does not delight in their blood, but in their returning to their duty.† There were at least 1500 killed in the battle and the pursuit, among whom there are a great many of the most considerable gentlemen of the name of Campbell, and some of them nearly related to the earl. I have saved and taken prisoners several of them, that have acknowledged to me their fault, and *lay all the blame*

* Montrose does not enter very fully into the particulars of these mountain-marches; but from Wishart's account (who must have had it from Montrose), and the particulars recorded by Guthrie and in the Clanranald MS., he had gone through Lochaber to Loch Ness with the idea of striking his blow, in the first place, against the northern forces; but precise intelligence of Argyle's wasting the braes of Kepoch having reached him, he suddenly doubled back over the mountains of Lochaber, and came down upon him at Inverlochy.

† These expressions afford additional evidence against the anecdote of Clarendon, already commented on. It is not the language of an assassin.

on their chief. Some gentlemen of the Lowlands, that had behaved themselves bravely in the battle, when they saw all lost, fled into the old castle ; and, upon their surrender, I have treated them honourably, and taken their parole never to bear arms against your majesty.

* * * * *

“ We have of your majesty’s army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerously. I can hear but of four killed, and one whom I cannot name to your majesty but with grief of mind, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, a son of the Earl of Airly’s, of whom I writ to your majesty in my last. He is not yet dead, but they say he cannot possibly live, and we give him over for dead.* Your majesty had never a truer servant, nor there never was a braver honest gentleman. For the rest of the particulars of this action, I refer myself to the bearer, Mr Hay, whom your majesty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

“ Now, sacred sir, let me humbly entreat your majesty’s pardon if I presume to write you my poor thoughts and opinion about what I heard by a letter I received from my friends in the south, last week, as if your majesty was entering into a treaty with your rebel parliament in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart, as that news from England is like to break it. And whatever come of me, I will speak my mind freely to your majesty ; for it is not mine, but your majesty’s interest I seek.†

* Sir Thomas Ogilvy died a few days after the battle, and was buried with military honours by Montrose in Athol.

† It is interesting to observe that at the very moment when Montrose was in all the excitement of collecting the clans for his march upon Inverlochy, Charles I. was thus writing of him to the secretary Nicholas. The impracticable treaty attempted in 1645 was opened, as is well known, at Uxbridge, on the 30th of January in that year. Of that same date the king writes, — “ Tell your fellow commissioners, that if there be any treaty proposed concerning Scotland (of which I forgot to speak to them at parting), their answer must be to demand a passport for a gentleman to go from me to see what state the Marquis of Montrose is

"When I had the honour of waiting upon your majesty last, I told you at full length what I fully understood of the designs of your rebel subjects in both kingdoms, which I had occasion to know as much as any one whatsoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their interest. Your majesty may remember how much you said you were convinced I was in the right in my opinion of them. I am sure there is nothing fallen out since to make your majesty change your judgment in all those things I laid before your majesty at that time. *The more your majesty grants, the more will be asked, and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your majesty a king of straw.* I hope the news I have received about a treaty may be a mistake, and the rather that the letter wherewith the queen was pleased to honour me, dated the 30th of December, mentions no such thing. Yet I know not what to make of the intelligence I received, since it comes from Sir Robert Spottiswood, who writes it with a great regret; and it is no wonder, considering no man living is a more true subject to your majesty than he. Forgive me, sacred sovereign, to tell your majesty that, in my poor opinion, it is unworthy of a king to treat with rebel subjects, while they have the sword in their hands. And though God forbid I should stint your majesty's mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in when I think of a treaty,

in; there being no reason that I should treat blindfold in so important a business, nor without the knowledge of him whom I have now chiefly employed in that kingdom, and who hath undertaken my service there with so much gallantry, when nobody else would." On the 11th of February his majesty again writes,—“Nicholas, the directions I gave you concerning sending to Montrose I mean only should extend to those things which merely concern Scotland. * * * I stick close to my former order of sending to Montrose, not being ashamed to avow that I shall be much guided by what I shall hear from him; and should be much more ashamed to treat in those things without at least communicating with him, who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me.”—*Evelyn Papers*. His majesty had not yet received Montrose's letter; but he did so before the 19th of February, of which date he refers to it in a letter to the queen.—See Welwood's Mem. p. 77.

while your majesty and they are in the field with two armies, unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your majesty's goodness and pardon.

"As to the state of affairs in this kingdom the bearer will fully inform your majesty in every particular. And give me leave, with all humility, to assure your majesty that, through God's blessing, I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your majesty's obedience. And, if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not before the end of this summer I shall be able to come to your majesty's assistance with a brave army, which, backed with the justice of your majesty's cause, will make the rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the just rewards of rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduced this country to your majesty's obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your majesty then, as David's general did to his master, 'Come thou thyself lest this country be called by my name.' For in all my actions I aim only at your majesty's honour and interest, as becomes one that is to his last breath, may it please your sacred majesty,—

"Your majesty's most humble, most faithful,
and most obedient subject and servant,

"MONTROSE.

*"Inverlochy in Lochaber,
February 3d, 1645."**

* The foregoing letter by Montrose is contained in the Appendix to Dr Welwood's Memoirs. It appears to have been very little observed or quoted, and is not contained in any of the appendices to the various translations of Wishart's History of Montrose's Wars. Dr Welwood wrote his Memoirs before the conclusion of the century in which Montrose suffered. He tells us that the letter is from a manuscript copy he saw in the handwriting of the Duke of Richmond, the friend of Charles I. In the part of the letter here printed with asterisks, Dr Welwood had inserted this parenthesis of his own:—"Here are six or seven lines that, for the honour of some families, are better left out than mentioned." It is a pity Montrose's letter was thus muti-

lated. Probably the passage omitted referred to the conduct of Argyle and his friends in the same boat during the battle.

The Lord Advocate thus notices the battle of Inverlochy in his Diary :—" 8 February 1645.—This day, being Saturday, in the morning, word came of a defeat given by the Irish and the Earl of Montrose to that part of our army which was led by the Laird of Auchinbreck, in Lochaber. *God be merciful to us.* Thereafter the word came, that this conflict was fought on Sunday 2d February 1645, and that the hail body of our army was there, and the Marquis of Argyle in person ; and that there was killed and taken of our army, one thousand and five hundred men ; and that the Lord Auchinbreck was either slain or taken, and the marquis fled to Inverara. The Lord be merciful to this poor kirk and kingdom, for this is a sad and heavy stroke."

Upon Wednesday the 12th, Argyle himself "having his left arm tied up in a scarf, as if he had been at bones-breaking," appeared before the parliament in Edinburgh. "This day," notes Sir James Halliour, "the Marquis of Argyle came to the house, and made a full relation of all his proceedings since his last going away from this. The house were fully satisfied with my Lord Marquis of Argyle's relation, and desired the president, in their names, to render him hartly thanks for his great pains and travel taken for the publick, and withal entreated him to continue in so laudable a course of doing for the weill and peace of his country." But Argyle's relation was untrue. He misled Balmerino, to affirm upon his honour to the General Assembly, that the great loss was but the invention of the malignants, and that Argyle had not thirty persons killed in all. The Rev. Robert Halliell gives this version of the battle :—"The world believed that Argyle could have been maintained against the greatest army as a country inaccessible. But we see there is no strength or refuge on earth against the Lord. The marquis *did his best* to be revenged—with an army sufficient *overtook the rogues in Lochaber at Inverlochy.* We hoped they might have been easily defeated—but behold the indignation of the Lord ! Argyle, having a hurt in his arm and face, got by a casual fall from his horse some weeks before, whereby he was disabled to use either sword or pistol, his cousin Auchinbreck took the leading of his army. No appearance but of courage and success. Yet no sooner did the enemy set on, but all our people, overtaken with a panic fear, without any necessity turned backs and fled. Auchinbreck, a stout soldier, but a very vicious man, and many special gentlemen of Argyle's friends were killed. This disaster did extremely amaze us. I verily think had Montrose come presently from that battle he should have had no great opposition in all the Highlands, in the Lennox, and the sherriffdom of Ayr, Glasgow, Clydesdale, scarce till he had come to Edinburgh. But God in mercy put other thoughts in his heart."

CHAPTER X.

Montrose determines to destroy the Armies of the Covenant in Detail before marching to the Borders—Severities exercised by the Covenanting Government against the loyal Friends of Montrose—Montrose ravages the Estates of the Enemy—Is joined by the Gordons, under Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis—State of the Country under the Covenanting Government—Montrose's Progress in the North—Death of Lord Graham—Death of Donald Farquharson—Hurry carries off Montrose's only Son—Montrose proceeds in his fiery Progress—Burns Dunnotar—Modern Calumny on the Subject refuted—Mr Hallam's unfounded Remark—Attacks Dundee—His able Retreat before Baillie and Hurry, whom he baffles—A Messenger from the King reaches Montrose in the Mountains—Montrose descends towards the Lennox and Menteith, where he is joined by his Nephew the Master of Napier, Aboyne, and other Friends—Turns upon Hurry—Battle of Alderne—Hurry's Army destroyed—Montrose's Nephew distinguishes himself—Consequent Treatment of the Family of Lord Napier by the Covenanting Government—Napier's Letter to Lord Balmerino—The Lord Advocate's Note of the Battle of Alderne—Montrose pursues Baillie and Lord Lindsay—Defection of Montrose's Troops—Challenges Baillie at Keith—Meets him at Alford and destroys his Army—Death of Lord Gordon—Montrose threatens the Parliament at Perth—Treatment of his Relatives—His Progress to Kilsyth—Defeats the combined Generals of the Covenant at Kilsyth, and destroys their Army—Contemporary Accounts of the Battle.

MONTROSE, instead of a precarious expedition into the Lowlands, with troops who seemed only to be relied upon when animated as it were by the genius of their native mountains, turned northward to reap the fruits he anticipated from the important lesson the adherents of Argyle had now been taught in regard to the character of their inglorious chief. It was his object,

moreover, to destroy the covenanting forces in that quarter, and to create a powerful diversion in favour of the king. The very first blow he struck at Perth had caused Leven to send Calendar back to Scotland; soon afterwards General Baillie was compelled to take the command against the marquis; and now, at Inverlochy, he had annihilated one of three armies who were supposed to have surrounded him. But there were two others traversing the very districts from which his best resources were yet to be derived; he therefore turned northward, with a renewed hope of the rising of the Gordons, and with the determination to treat Seaforth and Baillie, as he had done Elcho, Burleigh, and Argyle.

What he had already accomplished, however, gave him so far the command even of the government at Edinburgh, as to save at least the lives of some of his most valued friends there. He had sent the rebellious parliament a proposal to exchange prisoners, as appears from the Lord Lyon's notes, where it is mentioned that, on the 25th of February, "the house appoints a committee of two of each Estate to consider the roll sent by James Grahame, sometime earl of Montrose, of the prisoners he offers to be exchanged." Upon this same day, the chronicler now named presided at the grand ceremony, enacted in the parliament house and at the cross, of deleting the arms of the marquis, and other distinguished loyalists, out of his registers and books of honour, and rending their escutcheons "with all convenient solemnity," in pursuance of their doom as rebels and traitors. The heavy blow just given to the military power of Argyle, in the ravaging of his district and the destruction of his clan, exasperated while it struck terror into that faction. The zealots of the church were enraged beyond measure at these successes against their fanatical patron, whom they were in the habit of lauding as being under the special guidance of Heaven; and the doom now pronounced against the champions of loyalty and true patriotism, was that upon which Montrose was eventually put to death, without further trial, owing to the deadly

spirit of revenge which actuated Argyle and his seditious preachers. The present ceremony included, among others, the names of Nithisdale, Airly, Aboyne, Herries, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, Mac Coll Keitache, Donald Glas MacRanald of Keppoch, and a gallant boy, Alexander Ogilvy younger of Innerquharly.* But the parliament now feared to proceed to extremities against such of Montrose's friends as were in their hands, though the convention of the church had been urging their immediate execution. On the 10th of February, a committee of the General Assembly, consisting of the reverend David Dickson, Robert Blair, Andrew Cant, James Guthry, and Patrick Gillespie,† presented a remonstrance to the house "anent executing of justice on delinquents and malignants." In particular, and "according to that laudable custom ever used here before by the Kirk, in keeping correspondence with the Estate," they pressed the execution of Crawford and Lord Ogilvy, and all the rest of the prisoners in the tolbooth. The legislature commended the zeal and piety of the Assembly, but deferred the performance for a time, until the marquis were brought lower, lest it should happen that their own friends fell into his hands. Yet every thing was done to break the spirit and the constitutions of these unfortunate loyalists, in the dungeons to which they were consigned. In vain Lord Ogilvy urged that "he is a prisoner

* MS. Parl. Rec.

† It has been supposed, by Sir Walter Scott and others, that this zealous worthy had the honour of being alluded to in one of Milton's sonnets, where, in reply to a criticism on the title of his treatise *Tetrachordon*, Milton says,—

"Why is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp?"

Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp."

But the second line quoted is entirely occupied with the *aliases* of one person, namely, *Coll Keitache*, *MacDonald*, *MacGillespie*. Bishop Burnet supposed that the Macdonalds with Montrose were commanded by "one Colonel Killoch!"

of war, and not a private prisoner, and was taken on quarter." He was kept in the tolbooth in hourly expectation of death, not being permitted to see or speak to any one without an order from the Estates; and he was still persecuted with their usual persevering attempts to extort matter against him from his own mouth. On the 29th of January, the Committee for the processes put a question to the house, what course they were to take with his lordship, "that would not, after he had deponed, subscribe his depositions, but obstinately did refuse to do the same." The house determined that if the president of that committee and the clerk signed, it was as valid as if his lordship had signed it himself. Dr Wishart and his whole family were also in the tolbooth, and reduced to a state of starvation; and, what must have added not a little to General Macdonald's ardour in carrying fire and sword through Argyleshire, his father, old Coll Keitache, and two brothers, were in close durance, "with the monthly allowance of forty merks Scots, for their maintenance and that of their five keepers."* The family of Drum suffered severely, and Spalding's account of their fate is most affecting. "Ye heard before," he says, "of the taking and warding of young Drum and his brother Robert Irving. This brave young gentleman departed this life within the tolbooth of Edinburgh, upon Tuesday 4th February; and that samen night (being excommunicate) was buried, betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock, with candle light in lanterns, the young laird lying sore sick also in the same chamber, who, upon *gryt moyan*,† was transported, in a wand-bed upon the morn from the tolbooth to the castle, where he lay sore grieved at the death of his weil-belovit brother borne down by unhappy destiny and cruel malice of the Estates. When they were first wardit they were all three‡ put in sundry houses, that none should have

* From the MS. Record of Parl. it appears that Argyle had seized them some years before.

† i. e. Great interest made for him. Balfour confirms this.

‡ Their cousin, Alexander Irving, was taken with them.

conference with another, and that none should come or go without a town's baillie were present. This longsome, loathsome prison endured for the first half year. Thereafter they got liberty all three to byde in one chamber, but none suffered to come, or go, or speak but that which was overheard by a baillie. But this young gallant, byding so long in prison, and of a high spirit, broke his heart and died ; his father being confined in Edinburgh, and his mother dwelling in New Aberdeen (for the place of Drum was left desolate as ye have before), to their unspeakable grief and sorrow."

Lord Napier and all his family were treated as state prisoners, because of their connexion with the object of Argyle's mingled hate and terror. The Committee of Estates, as we have seen, had privately expressed to his lordship their respect for his character ; yet they never ceased their persecution of him, because he had refused to accept of a dishonourable acquittal. He was now confined to Holyrood House, along with his eldest son, a youth in his twentieth year, romantically attached to his uncle Montrose. Sir George Stirling of Keir was placed under a similar restraint ; and as the successes of the marquis multiplied, the confinement of his relations was increased in rigour, and extended even to the ladies of the several families.

Besides anxiety for his friends, the resolution which Montrose was compelled to adopt, of destroying the estates of the influential Covenanters, in order to raise Scotland in support of the Royal Standard (to which he summoned as he went all betwixt sixty and sixteen), must have brought many a pang to his generous spirit and accomplished mind. By means of this very system, much more unfeelingly pursued so far as the commander was concerned,* Argyle had

* Montrose had no means whatever of controlling his followers from committing excesses in this unhappy warfare. An order or command of Argyle's was not likely to be disobeyed by any of his followers.

previously enslaved the loyal districts ; and no other resource was now left to the king's lieutenant than to inflict retaliation upon the adherents of the Covenant. Already a most important reaction was created by the apparent destruction of the Argyle influence. Nathaniel Gordon returned to his duty on the 19th of February, bringing with him Lord Gordon at the head of a small but select body of cavaliers. Montrose had proceeded northwards to Inverness, and from that to Elgin, not far from the Bog of Gight, when the heir of Huntly suddenly broke the bonds that had joined him to his uncle Argyle ; and, says Spalding, " being in the Bog, lap quickly on horse, having Nathaniel Gordon, with some few others in his company, and that same night came to Elgin, saluted Montrose, who made him heartily welcome, and they sup joyfully together. His brother Ludovick came also to Montrose, and was graciously received." Probably the wild Lord Lewis had been also somewhat influenced by his recent marriage with a daughter of the Laird of Grant, a considerable body of whose men at this time joined the standard. Another important result of the last victory was, that the Earl of Seaforth, who commanded the northern Covenanters, and who was holding a committee at Elgin when the royal army approached that town, instead of attempting to meet him in the field, at first betook himself, with the rest of the committee, to flight, and soon afterwards joined the marquis, with the air of a sincere convert. But his adherence was ever with so " loose a foot," that this nobleman's real views and sentiments are as uncertain as his conduct throughout was wavering and impotent.

Meanwhile the rebels prepared for renewed exertions in the field ; and on the 8th of March, the parliament having passed an act of forfeiture against the Marquis of Huntly and Lord Gordon, was adjourned, that all might have leisure to suppress the insurrection of Montrose. Baillie,* the best

* He had served under Gustavus Adolphus, and was a natural son of Sir William Baillie of Lamington. See an account of him in Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii. p. 138.

general yet on foot against him, had marched with his army to Parth. Sir John Hurry, an experienced and daring officer, but quite unprincipled,* was commissioned as major-general under the former, and sent to join him with a large body of most effective cavalry. Matters, however, were somewhat languid and deranged at the seat of government.† The people were groaning under burdens imposed by the insurgent chiefs, whose enthusiasm had already greatly cooled, independently of any reaction occasioned by Montrose. But the Assembly did its utmost, by "free admonitions to the parliament," to prevent the progress of anarchy from subsiding. Those ministers who were not sufficiently zealous in their pulpit politics were threatened, or actually deposed; while, to keep the movement in full life, three grand committees were now arranged,—one for the army in England, of which Argyle was the head; another, under the auspices of the Earl of Lanerick, now a "prime Covenanter;" Lord Lindsay was appointed to attend the army of Baillie; while to Balmerino was consigned the charge of the committee at head-quarters.

Montrose, with his new allies, marched from Elgin to the Bog of Gight on the 4th of March, and took up his abode

* He is also frequently called Urry. Charles the First had knighted him for good service performed with Prince Rupert's horse, in the year 1643, immediately after he had quitted the Covenanters in disgust. But in 1644 he again changed sides, and was now charging Montrose with spurs of knighthood conferred by Charles.

† The Rev. R. Baillie thus expresses it:—"The country was exceedingly exhausted with burdens, and, *which was worse*, a careless stupid lethargy had seized on the people; so that *we* were brought exceeding low. In this lamentable condition we took ourselves to our old rock—we turned ourselves to God." By this is meant their old weapon of seditious agitation, commanding and enforcing a fast throughout the kingdom, with more than papal tyranny. It was enjoined for the 6th of April, and, says Spalding, "no meat durst be made ready,—searchers sought the town's houses and kitchings for the same; thus is the people vexed with thir extraordinary fasts and thanksgiving (upon the Sabbath day, appointed by God for a day of rest), more than their bodies are vexed with labour on the work day,—through the preposterous zeal of our ministers."

there a few days, under melancholy circumstances. He had kept his eldest son, Lord Graham, with the army, probably for safety, during a campaign which had proved too severe for this gallant boy, who was only in his fifteenth year,* but of great spirit and promise. After a few days' illness, he died in Huntly's castle, and was buried in the kirk of Bellie, to the infinite grief of his father, who had little time to shed tears over his tomb. On the 9th of March, the marquis was in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, where he was met by a deputation from that hapless town, to inform him that "through plain fear of the Irishes, the whole people, man and woman, were fleeing away, if his honour gave them not assurance of safety and protection; who mildly heard these commissioners, and said he was sorry at Aberdeen's calamities; always forbade them to be frightened; for his foot army, wherein the Irish were, should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles; and if himself came, he craved nothing but entertainment upon his own charges; further wrong he intended not to do to the burgh of Aberdeen; which truly and nobly he kept. The commissioners were glad of this unexpected good answer. They gave many thanks, and humbly take their leave from Montrose, came back from Turreff, and upon the 10th of March came to Aberdeen, where they declared the good answer which they had gotten, to the great joy of magistrates and commons, man, wife, and child within the burgh."

Huntly's castle, then called the Bog of Gight, was at this time commanded and stoutly kept by Gordon of Buckie, whom Spalding calls "an old aged man," but who displayed

* It was previously stated (p. 8), on the authority of Spalding, that Lord Graham was about sixteen in March 1645, when he died at Gordon Castle. But he could have been only in his fifteenth year, for Montrose's marriage-contract is dated at Kinnaird, 10th November 1629. The extreme youth of the married parties is indicated by the provision, on the part of Lord Kinnaird, "To entertain and sustain in house with himself, honourably, the saids noble earl and Mistress Magdalene Carnegie his promised spouse, during the space of three years next after the said marriage."—*Montrose Charter-chest*.

in this service the vigour and the fire of youth. Some letters from Montrose to him are yet preserved, and the following appears to refer to his constant anxiety to bring the whole power of the Gordons to the standard, which he was now more sanguine of accomplishing, as Lord Gordon had lately joined him :—

“ SIR,

“ From the friendly assurances have passed amongst us, and my trust in that, I must by these entreat you be pleased to take the pains to meet me at Inverury on Saturday next, the 16th of this instant, betimes in the morning, for what does very much concern his majesty’s service, the honour and standing of the house of Huntly, and the weals and credit of all who belong to it. Which remitting until meeting,

“ I am,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ MONTROSE.*

“ *Pennyburne, 10th March 1645.*”

But before the day of this appointment arrived, Montrose met with another misfortune which he greatly deplored. To Nathaniel Gordon he had committed the charge of negotiating, with the town of Aberdeen, as to the levies of men, arms, and horses they were to supply to the royal army, which lay encamped at Kintore. This brave but reckless cavalier had become too careless with respect to the enemy. Upon the 12th of March he went to the city just named with about eighty “ weill horsit brave gentlemen.” He took care that himself should be well mounted that day, for he borrowed a charger from his friend Lord Gordon, being the very best of some “ stately saddell horses ” which Huntly had sent to his son when he himself sought safety in Strathnaver. Along

* *Orig.*—In the charter-chest of Lady Bruce of Stenhouse, whose ancestor was Gordon of Buckie. I am indebted, for the communication of these letters, to the obliging attention of the Rev. Mr Taylor of King’s College, Aberdeen.

with this gay and gallant party, went another valiant chief, Donald Farquharson of Braemar, who had also determined to shine in all his bravery upon this occasion ; for he took with him "ane ritche stand of apparrell" which he had never yet worn, and arrayed himself therein when at Aberdeen. Upon Friday the 15th of March, as these gallants were "at their merriment," without having taken the precaution to guard the ports or to place sentinels, and their own steeds being all housed in the Court de Guard, the clatter of many horses' feet were heard in the Broadgate. It was Sir John Hurry himself, with eight score troopers at his back, to whom notice had been sent of the careless wassall of the cavaliers. Farquharson rushed to the street, and was instantly killed ; some more lost their lives, and a few were sent prisoners to Edinburgh. Gordon and others returned to Kintore on foot, their steeds being for the most part captured by the Covenanters ; and Huntly's stately charger found itself bestrode by Robert Forbes, the brother of Craigievar. Montrose was much distressed at the carelessness which had lost to him the brave Donald Farquharson. A deputation from Aberdeen followed in fear and trembling, to excuse the town. Montrose "heard them patiently, with ane wo heart, yet knew well enough who was innocent or guilty of this matter within the town, wisely kept up his mind, and gave the commissioners an indifferent answer. And so they returned to Aberdeen, not knowing what should be the event." On the following day, he sent Lord Lewis Gordon (whose first boyish campaign had been under the guidance of Donald Farquharson), and Allaster Macdonald himself, with a thousand horse and foot, to see interred the pride of Braemar. The town's people had found his corpse lying naked in the street, all his rich apparel having been "tirrit from of his bodie." They had placed it in a chest, and within the chapel, together with three other cavaliers, who had been slain ; and on Sunday the 17th they were interred with military honours. Donald—one of the noblest captains amongst all the Highlanders of

Scotland, being still the king's man for life and death—"was bureit in the Laird [of] Drum's aisle, with mony wo hearts, and dulefull schottis." Spalding adds, that Macdonald behaved nobly to the terrified town, and comforted them all by quartering his Irish about the bridge of Dee, and suffering none to enter, with himself and Lord Lewis, but his cavalry.

Hurry, immediately after his dashing exploit, went south with his troopers to the town of Montrose, where James, now Lord Graham, had been left at school. This boy had just attained the dangerous importance of being the only child of the marquis, and Sir John Hurry seized the prize. He was, says Spalding, "a young bairn about fourteen years, learning at the schools, attended by his pedagogue in quiet manner. Always he is taken, and had to Edinburgh, where he with his pedagogue are both wardit in the castle of Edinburgh." Nor was this all. While the noble father himself was yet at Kintore, the constitution of one of his dearest friends, the Earl of Airly, gave way under the fatigue of the recent campaign; being in a high fever, he was conveyed first to the house of his daughter, and afterwards for greater security to Strathbogie, having no less than 800 of Montrose's men and officers there to guard him. Thus, in the space of little more than a week, was this distinguished leader deprived of two of his most valuable allies and of both his sons.

Yet onward he went in his fiery course, summoning the country in the name of the king, and wasting the districts where that summons was scorned. Some months before, he had sent a letter to Marischal, anxiously explaining that the object of his present expedition in Scotland was simply to re-establish the throne, and not to injure the subject; and he called upon the earl to aid the king's lieutenant, or be answerable for the consequences. The earl at that time returned only a verbal and slighting reply, and sent the letter to the covenanting committee. The marquis was now at Stonehaven, hard by Marischal's castle of Dunnotar, the great stronghold of that country, into which no fewer than sixteen ministers had

fled, and, among the rest, Mr Andrew Cant.* Upon the 20th of March, Montrose wrote another letter to Marischal, of the same tenor as his former, and which met with no better reception. On the 21st, therefore, he burnt the barn-yards of Dunnotar, before the eyes of the earl, and of his covenanting lady, and the sixteen ministers, whose comments on the occasion were probably not complimentary to our hero. But he might have replied, in the words of the Rev. Robert Baillie against the bishops,—“they shall see we are not to be boasted, and are resolved to make them taste if that heat be pleasant when it comes near their own shins.”† The burgh of Stonehaven, the town of Cowie, the shipping, and the whole lands of Dunnotar were successively consigned to the flames.‡

* The word *cant*, as applied to the inordinate and somewhat impious application of Scripture phraseology, and to the familiar use of the Saviour's name and the assumption of his special patronage, indulged in by these zealots of the Presbyterian establishment for the purpose of mystifying the people, is understood to have been taken from the name of this clergyman.

† Montrose first lost favour with the covenanting clergy because of “that noble generous youth's too great leniency” in not destroying Aberdeen by fire, after he had taken it for the Covenanters.

‡ Mr Brodie shows the utmost excitement, in relation to Montrose's character, when he narrates the burning of Dunnotar, and yet his conclusion is founded on a total mistake in point of fact. He says,—“See page 285 of Spalding, for a proof of inexorable cruelty in Montrose, *scarcely credible of one in civilized life*. The men, women, and children, with prayers, tears, and lamentations, *addressed him in vain*.” *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 537. The passage of Spalding referred to, is this,—“It is said, the people of Stanehevin and Cowie cam out, man and woman, children at thair foot, and children in thair armes, crying, houlung and weiping, praying *the eryl* for Godis cause to saif them from this fyre, howsone it was kendlit. Bot the poor people gat no ansuer, nor knew they quhair to go with thair children.” *Bannatyne edit.* vol. ii. p. 307. Now this passage does not refer to Montrose at all, who was a *Marquis*, and, three pages before, Spalding speaks of the “*Marques of Montrois*.” The anecdote refers to the *Earl Marischal*, and its obvious meaning is, that the poor people looked to him to save them from the fire, either by acceding to Montrose's summons, or by admitting them within the extensive fortifications which sheltered the sixteen ministers. Godwin, in his *History of the Common-*

Towards the end of March, Montrose, having passed the Grampians, lay encamped at Fettercairn, about seven miles from Brechin, the quarters of Sir John Hurry's cavalry. A foraging party of the royal army fell into an ambuscade, and were driven back to their camp; upon which Hurry advanced, with 600 horse, to reconnoitre and draw his enemy into the plain. The marquis deceived him with the sight of only 200 cavaliers; but in a valley behind he posted his claymores, and at the side of every horse was a "Redshank" with his long gun. Sir John advanced as if to certain victory; but the unexpected fire of the musketeers sent his dragoons to the right about, who, with some loss, were chased across the Esk, and never drew bridle till they reached Dundee. He covered their flight with a party in the rear, and displayed the skill and courage of one who had learnt war in the school of Gustavus

wealth of England, p. 452, has fallen into the same mistake as Mr Brodie, and made the same use of it. He calls the supposed appeal to Montrose's obdurate heart, "a memorable instance of his severity, deservedly selected" by Spalding! Malcolm Laing had obviously put the same mistaken interpretation on Spalding's anecdote. "Stonehaven," he says, "amidst the entreaties and outcries of the inhabitants, was consigned to the flames by the *inexorable* Montrose." The popular idea that Montrose was a man of cruel dispositions is utterly baseless.

Mr Hallam, in his History of England, vol. ii. p. 37, speaks of "Montrose, whom the Scots Presbyterian army *abhorred*, and *very justly* for his treachery and cruelty, *above all men living*." This violent and foolish assertion is certainly not founded upon any investigation of the history of Montrose, and is totally unworthy of a History of such pretensions as Mr Hallam's. It was probably founded on the authority of Mr Brodie, and perhaps on that very sentence which is refuted above. Even if there were any rational exposition of the "treachery and cruelty" with which Montrose has been personally charged, and Mr Hallam does not pretend to offer any, or if it were proved (as it is not) that the "Scots Presbyterian army" abhorred the person of Montrose, it cannot be said that he was "very justly" abhorred, unless Mr Hallam is also prepared to prove that the Presbyterians were neither *treacherous nor cruel*. It is proved (as Mr Hallam should have discovered) that the kirk militant were enraged at Montrose for being "too lenient."

Adolphus. The royal lieutenant now obtained intelligence of the vast preparations made to destroy him by General Baillie, who was close at hand to co-operate with Hurry, and commanding a force much superior to his own. He therefore struck his camp on the 25th of March, soon came in sight of the hostile army, and wasted some lands in the county of Angus, while four regiments of their foot, and two regiments of horse occupied the adjoining fields. But Montrose was not strong enough, and Baillie not bold enough to force a battle. The latter had marched from Perth to meet his antagonist on his march from Brechin ; and now the river Isla, which neither could venture to cross while the other watched its banks, alone separated them. During four or five days they continued to gaze upon each other in this manner, to the amazement and terror of the whole country, none knowing which of the two armies they were to consider as their masters. But the pause ill suiting the impetuosity of Montrose, he sent his adversary a message to this effect, that if he would pledge his honour to fight, when over the water, he would permit him to cross with his whole forces ; or, if he preferred fighting on the side where he was, he would go over to him upon the same conditions. The reply of the covenanting general was good, and would have been better still if the prelude to a victory : "Tell Montrose that I will fight at my own time and pleasure, and ask no leave from him."

Shortly afterwards, Baillie and Hurry had the marquis at advantage, from which he escaped with wonderful skill. The former had marched back to Perth, and our hero northward to Dunkeld, where his forces were weakened by the sudden and capricious departure of Lord Lewis Gordon. Jealous, it is said, both of his brother and his leader, or, as was also said at the time, actuated by secret advices from his father, this youth deserted the standard, and carried a considerable portion of the cavalry along with him. But Montrose, who required to recruit in the mountains ere he attempted a descent upon the south, determined to crown his present excursion by a blow at


the disloyal town of Dundee. Suddenly turning eastward from Dunkeld, he marched with only part of his forces in the night-time, and arrived, about ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of April, at a hill overlooking the town, from whence he sent a summons in the name of the king, and warned the inhabitants of the consequences of not admitting him. The usual practice of the kirk militant was adopted: the trumpeter was thrown into prison. Under this provocation, Lord Gordon and Macdonald received orders to storm the town, which they did simultaneously at three different quarters, the marquis being on the neighbouring height superintending the operations. The place was taken, its own cannon turned against it, and a formal surrender on the point of being arranged, when Montrose's scouts, who had previously misled him, brought the intelligence that Baillie and Hurry were within one mile of Dundee, at the head of 3000 foot, and 800 cavalry. The forces with himself (the rest being at Brechin) were not above 700 musketeers, and from 150 to 200 horse. The storming party, for the most part, were still engaged in the pillage of the town; and hence the marquis was advised by some around him instantly to fly, and leave his troops to their fate. But he determined, more nobly, to redeem the error of suffering his little army to be thus surprised, by ordering the retreat, and conducting it in person. He encouraged all, and got together even the intoxicated men from the town, a remarkable instance of his presence of mind and power of command. Sending off the foot in two separate bodies, he covered the rear himself with his horse, and, ere the sun had set, was falling back in regular order, leaving few or none behind him. The covenanting generals, deeming themselves sure of their prey, came up as the shades of night drew on; and having separated their forces into two divisions, meant to attack the royalists in flank and rear. Twenty thousand crowns was proclaimed as the price of Montrose's head. Hurry and his horse overtook the rear; but Baillie, for whom the Highlanders were too active, could not touch them in flank. Again

the invaluable manoeuvre of mingling musketeers with his cavalry, was successfully practised by Montrose. As he faced about to cover the retreat against the first charge, three of his Highlanders successively brought down as many of the pursuers, an occurrence which effectually cooled the ardour of chase. Thus retreating and skirmishing, while the darkness was closing upon them he approached the coast, and paused, about midnight, near Arbroath, intending to communicate with his troops at Brechin, and then to make for the mountains. In the mean time, Baillie had disposed his men so as to command all the known routes from the sea to the Grampians. But the other, taking it for granted that he would be thus intercepted, turned to the north-west, and eluding the enemy in the dark, marched to Kirriemuir, from whence he brought his whole array across the Esk to Careston, just as day dawned. Here he learnt that the remainder of his forces, left at Brechin, had already made the best of their way to the hills; upon which he bent his course in the same direction, and although his rear was once more engaged with Hurry's horse, he succeeded, after a march of three days and two sleepless nights, in gaining the lonely depths of Glen Esk.

Back limp'd, with slow and crippled pace,
The sulky leaders of the chase.

This long and dangerous retreat, accomplished in such order, after the storming of a town, and being taken by surprise, is not among the least of Montrose's achievements. Dr Wishart assures us, "I have often heard those who were esteemed the most experienced officers, not in Britain only, but in France and Germany, prefer this march to his most celebrated victories."

The conclusion of the marquis's letter after the battle of Inverlochy, in which he refers to the message of Joab to King David, was not written in the canting spirit of the times. It was his quaint mode of informing Charles that he had no lurking design, like Hamilton and Argyle, to effect his own



aggrandizement by these successes, but that he was fighting for the king, with whom he wished to join forces. And there is every reason to believe that the unfortunate monarch, now on the verge of ruin in England, had taken the hint, and was anxious to co-operate with him. It is apparent, however, from his correspondence with Sir Edward Nicholas, that he was not suffered to communicate with his representative in Scotland, even while the treaty was pending; and now that hostilities were renewed, it was a perilous adventure to carry the king's instructions to Montrose. It would appear also that the expedient, first used by the Covenanters, of employing as their diplomatists, pedlars, whose apparent occupation was to sell puritanical tracts, had been adopted by those who brought intelligence to the royal lieutenant.* Charles himself was obliged to trust to some such precarious channel for conveying his instructions to Scotland. Not long after the marquis had retreated to the mountains, from the storming of Dundee, a person in the habit of a common beggar reached him there, and delivered a packet of letters, including one written by his majesty, probably the reply to that despatched from Inverlochy. The messenger was James Small, son of the Laird of Fotherance, who for a long period had filled some post at court, and now proved his attachment to his master by volunteering to perform this dangerous service. About the middle of April he reached the camp of the royalists, and before the 19th of that month all was bustle and activity amongst them. Lord Gordon, with those of his cavaliers who had not forsaken the standard, set out for his own country, in the hope of reclaiming his wayward brother, and of raising the whole power of their house for

* In "The Covent Garden Drollery," printed 1672, these lines occur:
 Once like a pedlar, they have heard thee brag
 How thou didst cheat their sight, and save thy craig,
 When to the Great Montrose, under pretence
Of godly bukes, thou brought'st intelligence.

They relate to Montrose's friend and follower, Thomas Sydserf, or Saint Serf, a son of Thomas Sydserf bishop of Galloway. See Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club, vol. i. p. 87.

the king. General Macdonald and a regiment of his Irish were despatched further into the Highlands to raise fresh levies; while the young Laird of Inchbrakie was sent to Athol to bring back the Highlanders who had gone home on leave.

Montrose retained at head-quarters about 500 foot and fifty horse. With these, he suddenly emerged from his retreat, and was far south of the Grampians in little more than a week from the time he had taken refuge there, when pursued by those who valued his head at 20,000 crowns. His motions appeared to be almost magical. "In effect," says Spalding, after attempting to give some idea of his progress at this time, "we had no certainty where he went, he was so obscure." The Covenanters, although they affected to say that the last chase had annihilated his army, and that he had been driven with only a remnant to the hills, made the most formidable preparations for his reappearance. Hurry, with about 1200 foot and 160 horse, was despatched to the north, where, in conjunction with Marischal and their several allies, he was instructed to traverse the counties of Aberdeen, Moray, and Inverness. Baillie, with another army, was stationed at Perth, from whence he was to make excursions into Athol, and, at the same time, be ready to join the battalions in the north, or to protect the south, as occasion might require. Argyle, with his shattered Highlanders, reinforced by 1500 of the troops from Ireland, betook himself to his own country, where there was now less chance of meeting with his dreaded rival than in any other quarter.

No sooner had these arrangements been made, than Baillie obtained the startling intelligence that Montrose, with a very slender accompaniment, had occupied the village of Crieff, within a few miles of his leaguer, and seemed to be meditating a descent upon the Lowlands. The covenanting general instantly attempted to surprise him by a night-march, with 2000 foot and 500 horse. But our hero, anticipating such an attack, covered the retreat of his little army with the few mounted men he had, and once more sustaining the whole weight of the

enemy's cavalry, repulsed and threw them into disorder. Then hurrying onwards, he took possession of the pass of Stratherne, establishing himself for the rest of the night about the head of the Loch. On the following day, now about the middle of April, the royal standard, as if it had been charmed against all mortal foes, was flaunting far westward among the Braes of Balquhider, and proceeding in the direction of Loch Katrine.

Montrose had now before him a very different scene from those of his recent adventures. Like the noble stag pictured in the *Lady of the Lake*, he was pausing on the southern side of the mountains overlooking "the varied realms of fair Menteith," and as if meditating some relaxation from his toil in the romantic country beneath. But it was not to visit the favourite haunts of his boyhood, that he now passed with his brave followers along the shores of Loch Katrine and so down to Loch Ard. He had obtained intelligence that he was to be joined in this neighbourhood by the Viscount of Aboyne, Huntly's second son; and he was never slow to meet any loyal demonstrations on the part of the Gordons. This young nobleman had remained in Carlisle ever since the marquis's first expedition into Scotland, and it would seem as if some doubts of the success of that adventure had hitherto restrained him from joining in it. But now when that town was invested by the army of David Leslie, and the attempt to escape from it involved no small degree of peril, Aboyne determined to attach himself to the fortunes of the king's lieutenant. Montrose was informed of this resolution by a letter, probably contained in the packet delivered by James Small, and the viscount most gallantly accomplished his design, having broken through the whole covenanting forces, accompanied by little more than twenty horsemen, and so reached the standard in safety about the 19th of April.*

At this same time there was another attraction for Montrose to the neighbourhood of Napier-Ruskie and the Keir.

* Wishart.—Guthry.

In that quarter were now lurking, in the hope of being able to join him, his nephews, the Master of Napier and the young Laird of Keir, who had recently made their escape from Holyrood House, where all the members of their families had been ordered, by the Committee of Estates, to confine themselves, under heavy penalties. But these youths, having effected their escape without the knowledge of Lord Napier, betook themselves to familiar haunts, on their paternal domains, until they were enabled to meet their uncle. This last, however, run considerable risk of being overwhelmed by the army under Baillie, who was still following him westward. Guthry narrates, that "Macdonald, knowing Montrose not to be strong enough for a battle, in regard of his and Inchbrakie's absence with their regiments, resolved to make a diversion; and fell down, before they were aware, upon the Campbells, in the lordship of Cowpar, killing such of them as came into his hands; whereof notice being given to Baillie, he and his committee drew back their army to take order with Macdonald; and so Montrose had a clear passage to the north, accompanied, besides the Lord Aboyne, with another stranger; and this was his nephew Archibald master of Napier, a gallant youth, both for body and mind. He having, since Montrose went first to the field, been in company with his noble father the Lord Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, his brother-in-law, under confinement in Holyrood House, resolved, at length, to break loose; and getting safely away, he came to his uncle at Cardross, upon Monday, April 21st. But his escape procured from the committee hard measure to his friends whom he left behind. For the Lord Napier his father, and the Laird of Keir, were presently made prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh; and not long after, Dame Elizabeth Erskine daughter to the Earl of Mar, his lady, and Mrs Lillias Napier, his sister, were sent after them to bear them company; and his other sister the Lady Keir, confined to Merchiston."*

* Guthry, p. 185. He does not mention the young Laird of Keir;

These proceedings were characteristic of the government, whose conduct to the same parties, in their pretended prosecution of plotters against the religion and liberties of the country, has been already so fully exposed. Although married* since the year 1641, and having a family, the Master of Napier was still a mere boy. Nor was his escape any excuse for the cruel and mean tyranny with which his noble relatives were henceforth treated, by those misnamed patriots, who in fact had already destroyed both religion and liberty in Scotland.

The presence of the gallant youths who joined him in Men-teith must have afforded Montrose some compensation for the loss of his own sons, so lately torn from him by death and captivity. "They were," says Spalding, and we may well believe him, "all joyful of utheris." But that which proved joy to them, was death to the unfortunate messenger, whose intelligence had induced the marquis to leave his retreat

but Spalding says, that "the Lord of Aboyne, the Master of Napier, the Laird of Dalgety, the Laird of Keir *younger*, with the Earl of Nithisdale, and Lord Herries, had broken out of Carlisle, with about twenty-eight horse, through David Leslie's army, desperately, yet happily safe and sound." Spalding was mistaken in supposing that Napier had come from Carlisle; and young Keir, most probably, had also broke away from his confinement at home, as the severity exercised towards his father and mother seems to indicate. He must have been Lord Napier's grandson, and Montrose's grand-nephew; but I have met with no other notice of him than what Spalding has preserved.

* To the Lady Elizabeth Erskine; whose name has become immortalized, from her having, at the risk of her life, procured the heart of Montrose immediately after his execution, to embalm it,—as will afterwards appear. She was the daughter of the eighth Earl of Mar, and sister of the Lord Erskine mentioned in the note to p. 137. The marriage-contract was signed by the master, at Edinburgh, 28th May 1641, and by Lady Elizabeth, at Stirling, on the 13th of June, two days after Montrose and Napier were sent to the castle. Lord Napier signs the marriage-provisions on the 20th of July, in his prison, the witnesses being his own servant, and his jailor James Lindsay. Young Napier was not more than just of age, at the end of May 1646, five years after his marriage, as will be seen from a letter of that date, to be referred to afterwards.

among the Grampians, and to enter upon this happy excursion. Having passed successfully from England to the Highlands, James Small was now retracing his steps, in the same humble guise, towards his sovereign, with letters from Montrose. He arrived at Alloa, and was safe within the bounds of the loyal family of Mar; but at Elphinston, some one who had known him in the south betrayed him to the nobleman of that name, who was an uncle of Balmerino, and a member of the Committee of Estates. His lordship sent him, with the letters found on his person, to the merciless tribunal at Edinburgh, and on the day following, which was the 1st of May, he was hanged at the cross, by command of the committee, and to the great satisfaction of the covenanting clergymen. "By these letters," says Bishop Guthry, "the committee came to know what they never had thought on, namely, how the king's business being so forlorn in England, that he could not make head against his enemies there, his majesty designed to come with his army to Scotland, and to join Montrose; that so this country being made the seat of war, his enemies might be forced to an accommodation, to free their land from a burden, which it could not stand under; the prevention of which design was afterwards gone about with success." Beyond this cruel fate no more is known of the royal messenger; for his little episode is all but lost in the great tragedy of the times. Guthry records that, at the time when he wrote, this family had fallen into decay, and the estate had passed from them. But the desperate service he volunteered to his sovereign proves him to have been a gentleman of great courage and fidelity,—attributes not characteristic of the clerical faction who decreed his summary execution. How he met his fate, and who were left to weep in secret for this humble hero, is all unrecorded. But he was the friend of Charles and Montrose,—for whom he died, and with whom he deserves to be remembered.

It was now the marquis's turn to pursue. When at Loch Katrine, he was informed that Sir John Hurry, with an over-

whelming force, was threatening Lord Gordon in the north, at Auchindoun, while Baillie with another army was burning the beautiful district of Athol, even up to the castle of Blair, where all the military stores of the royal army were kept. Our hero's system of tactics was that which the greatest military geniuses have used, and by whom alone it can be adopted with effect, namely, rapid movements with their whole force, from point to point, so as to destroy a more numerous enemy in detail. When Hurry, solicitous about the intentions of his foe, had reason to believe that the Grampians were still between them, Montrose was within a few miles of his camp in Strathbogie. The marquis started from Menteith in pursuit of him, with but a section of his small army, and almost totally unprovided with powder and ball. Retracing his steps to Balquhiddy, and thence marching along the side of Loch Tay, he passed through Athol and Angus, until he came to the Grampians. Then climbing the mountains towards Glenmuick, and pressing into the heart of Mar, he crossed the Dee at the Miln of Crathie, and was at Skene about the end of April. There he paused for want of ammunition, to procure which Lord Aboyne was despatched with about eighty horse to Aberdeen. That daring young nobleman took possession of the town, carefully set his watches, and then boarded two vessels lying in the harbour, out of which he took twenty barrels of gunpowder, and returned with it the same night to his commander. Here, also, Montrose effected a re-union with Lord Gordon, who joined the royal army on the Dee, with a thousand foot and two hundred horse. About the same time Macdonald returned with his division; and now the royalists were completely ready for Sir John Hurry.

Meanwhile that knight, having obtained intelligence of their approach, made off in all haste for the Spey, which he crossed with the view of joining the northern Covenanters. Montrose chased him at the heels from Elgin to Forres, and from thence to Inverness, where Sir John succeeded in his object, and re-

ceived a great addition of strength from the Frasers, and others in Moray and Caithness, under the Earls of Seaforth and Sutherland. The marquis encamped at the village of Alderney, with a force variously estimated at from two to three thousand foot and horse, but so far inferior to the enemy that his desire now was not to risk a battle. Hurry, however, equally conscious of his present superiority, advanced upon him, as if determined to press his advantage. The moment was a critical one, and perhaps upon no other occasion during his brilliant career did Montrose so eminently display his military talents. If he should avoid the offered battle, Baillie, now hurrying to the Spey, would be on his rear before he could elude his foes in front; therefore he determined to accept the challenge, however unfavourable the circumstances. Besides being vastly out-numbered, the royal army was deprived of half its strength by the mere fact of standing on the defensive, a posture in which the usual effect of their impetuosity would be impaired, and their want of discipline very apt to be manifested. To make up for all these odds against him, he had selected a very strong position, while he displayed consummate skill in the disposal of his battle. The village just named stood on an eminence, overlooking a valley; and several small hills rising behind rendered the view of it indistinct to those standing at any distance. The front of the hamlet was covered by a few dikes answering the purpose of temporary ramparts, and a like advantage was derived from the rugged sides of the ravine. As his object was to conceal his weakness, no less than to seek aid in strength of position, he contrived to obscure nearly the whole of his forces in the valley and behind these natural fortifications. The lion-hearted MacColl, with about four hundred troops, he stationed, much against their will, among the enclosures, rocks, and brushwood of some broken ground on the right, opposite the left wing of the enemy, with instructions that on no account should they be drawn from their position by the temptation of an attack. To this division he consigned the royal standard, usually carried before himself, rightly judging

that the sight of it would draw the whole strength of the attack upon that impregnable point. The rest of his forces, with the exception of a few picked musketeers whom he had placed with some cannon on the height directly in front of the village, he carried over to his other wing; himself taking charge of the foot, and Lord Gordon commanding the horse. His main battle and reserve were left to the imagination of the enemy, for on this occasion he had neither. It must be remembered, that he was deprived of the assistance of most of the Atholmen, who had recently returned to their own country, in consequence of General Baillie's devastations in that district.

As Montrose had anticipated, Hurry sent his best troops, including the regiments of Loudon, Lothian, Lawers, and Buchanan, with a portion of his cavalry, against the royal standard, and directed the rest of his men to attack the front of the village, which points were simultaneously assailed in the most gallant and persevering manner. Now it was that the marquis prepared to charge with the whole weight of his left wing upon the centre of the Covenanters, while the flower of their troops were occupied, as he hoped, by Macdonald in his trenches. But he had over-rated the prudence of that brave loyalist, who, thrown off his guard by the taunts of the veterans sent against him, had emerged from the enclosures with his desultory followers, and was instantly attacked and nearly surrounded by the enemy's foot, as well as by the cavalry under Captain Drummond. Upon this occasion it was that the Highland hero chiefly distinguished himself by his undaunted bearing, and great personal prowess; and the following particulars, derived from the Clanranald manuscript, and written by one who was not only at the battle of Aulderne but personally engaged in that very struggle he so minutely describes, afford a vivid picture of the style of fighting which Montrose had introduced.

As the major-general, whose name is thus written in the manuscript in question,—Alastair Mac Cholla-chiotach

Mhic Ghiollesbuig Mhic Cholla Mhic Alastair Mhic Eoin Chathanich,*—was arranging his troops for the battle, a gentleman came to him from the Lord Gordon with a message, in these words :—"Allaster Macdonald, I have heard that there was a bond of friendship between our forefathers, not to strike a blow against each other, whatever quarrel might be between them and the rest of Scotland,—and none excelled them in deeds of honour ; therefore let us now renew that bond by exchanging foot soldiers : on this the first day of my doing battle for my king, send me your foot soldiers, and take mine." To this the other at once agreed, and ordered ninety of his veterans, "tried in many battles," to join his noble friend, who, in return, sent three hundred of his foot brought from Strathbogie, and the other northern possessions of Huntly. These, however, were inexperienced levies, who felt out of their element when separated from the Gordon cavalry, which they regarded as being meant specially for their protection. Thus left with only fifty of his veteran troops, the island warrior placed twenty-five of them in front, and the same number in the rear, the centre being chiefly composed of the three hundred strangers, led and encouraged by himself in person. But instead of adhering to his instructions to keep within the enclosures, he sallied forth to engage the powerful and well-disciplined regiments led on by the gallant Laird of Lawers, and thereby he also became exposed to the charge of the horse under Captain Drummond. "Then," continues the Clanranald chronicler, "commenced a combat, the like of which had never been seen in the low country ; the Gordon foot soldiers sent to Allaster did not bear it well ; for whenever they heard the sough of an arrow or the whistle of a ball, they ducked their heads, and showed other symptoms of unsteadiness : this being perceived by Allaster, he walked backwards before them, beckoning with his

* i. e. Alexander, son of Coll the left-handed, son of Archibald, son of Coll, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach.

hand to encourage them, and telling them to keep close order; but they were hard put to it; *I know men* who even killed some of the Gordon foot soldiers, to prevent their flight; which, when the enemy perceived, they set on furiously.* Under these untoward circumstances, Macdonald was constrained to order his troops to seek the enclosures, from whose protection he had rashly withdrawn them, and this retrograde movement was not effected without great confusion and loss. As he had been first in advance, so he was among the very last to seek the garden into which they were now retreating; and frequently checked, with his single hand, the advancing enemy, whose pikes and arrows most severely galled the flying infantry. The pikemen were so close upon him, as to fix their spears in his target, which he cut off with his broadsword, by threes and fours at a stroke.† Thus fighting like a lion in the rear of his troops, he gained the approach to the garden, accompanied by a few friends who wished him to enter before them. At this critical moment his sword broke. Davidson of Ardnacross, his brother-in-law, handed him his own, and while in the act of doing so, fell mortally wounded. Macdonald having entered along with some of the enemy, attacked them furiously, in order to relieve those who were still struggling without. Meanwhile, another hero, named Ranald, the son of Donald, the son of Angus Mackinnon in Mull, was keeping the pikemen at bay with his shield on his left arm, and his gun in his other hand presented at them. Some bowmen ran past him, letting fly their arrows with deadly effect among the Gordon soldiers; and one of these archers who, on looking over his shoulder, saw the pikemen kept at bay by Ranald, suddenly turned his hand and shot him in the face, the arrow penetrating one cheek and appearing out at the other. Ranald's dagger was lost, and his bow useless; so,

* Perhaps the narrator himself had some hand in this discipline, *pour encourager les autres*. He adds, "I have thought proper to narrate these particulars, as I was in the midst of the Gordons at the time."

† This fact is mentioned by Wishart.

throwing away his gun, and stretching out his shield to save himself from the pikes, the warlike islander attempted to draw his sword, but it would not come ; he tried it again, and the cross hilt twisted about ; a third time he made the attempt, using his shield hand to hold the sheath, and succeeded, but at the expense of five pike wounds in his breast. In this state he reached the entrance to the garden, closely followed by one of the enemy ; but as the latter bowed his head under the gate, Macdonald, who had been watching their motions, with one sweep of his claymore struck it off, " which," says the chronicler, " hit upon Ranald's houghs ; the head fell in the enclosure, and the body in the door-way ; Ranald lifted up the head, and looking behind him at the door, saw his companion in arms, who cut away the arrow that stuck in his cheek, and restored him his speech." Such were the feats of personal prowess which have rendered the name of the redoubtable MacColl, and some of his followers, scarcely less famous in Highland tradition and song, than that of Montrose himself.

This desperate struggle the royal lieutenant himself was watching, with intense interest, from a commanding position hard by. Some one now whispered in his ear, " Macdonald is utterly routed." If he had hesitated for an instant, the day must have been lost ; but with admirable presence of mind he called out, " Macdonald is gaining the victory single-handed ! Come, come, my Lord Gordon, shall he carry all before him, and leave no laurels for the house of Huntly ! Charge !"—And the finest charge ever made by the chivalry of Strathbogie followed the sound of that cheering voice. It was directed against the main body of Hurry's dragoons, who, after a bloody struggle, were driven completely off the field. Although Macdonald was in himself a host, it was well for him then that Montrose and Lord Gordon came on like a whirlwind from the opposite wing, where they had been victorious, and driving the remainder of the rebel horse even through the centre of their foot, cut down the best and bravest regiments

that owned the Covenant, on the spot where they stood. Seventeen of Allaster's officers and veterans lay wounded within the enclosure, and many of the Gordons were slain. But the royal standard was safe, and with this and the remnant of his troops, the Highlander again rushed out, and attacked the regiment of Lawers on the opposite flank. "Many were the warlike deeds," says the chronicler, who was with them, "performed that day by the Macdonalds and the Gordons. Many were the wounds given and received by them ; insomuch that Montrose said, after the battle, that he himself witnessed the greatest feats of arms, and the greatest slaughter, he ever knew performed by a couple of men, namely, Nathaniel Gordon, and Ronald Og Macdonald, son of Allaster, son of Angus Uaibrach ; and likewise by Lord Gordon himself, and other three."

Of twelve hundred foot which Hurry took with him to Inverness, very nearly the whole perished at Aulderne. Many more fell besides ; for the royalists, who followed the chase some miles, gave little quarter, and the loss of the Covenanters is variously estimated at from two to three thousand slain. Mungo Campbell of Lawers fell, sword in hand, with his whole regiment, on the spot where they had routed the left wing under Macdonald. With him died Sir John and Sir Gideon Murray, and many brave and distinguished officers. Sixteen colours, their whole baggage, ammunition, and money, fell into the hands of their enemy. Hurry himself, the Earls of Seaforth, Sutherland, and Findlater, the Lairds of Boyne, Innes, Birkenbog, and others, narrowly escaped with the horse to Inverness. If there was excessive slaughter, the popular faction, as usual, had provoked it. Gordon of Salragh, the contemporary historian of the Earls of Sutherland, says,—“the slaughter of James Gordon of Struders made them take the fewer prisoners, and give the less quarter.” The particulars of that murder are recorded by Spalding. In a skirmish which had occurred shortly before, when Montrose was in pursuit of Hurry, James Gordon, son to George Gordon

of Rynie, being severely wounded, was conveyed to the house of a friend, where he remained to be cured, with a gentleman named Gordon to nurse him. Major Sutherland, and the young Laird of Innes, learning this fact, send out a party from Elgin, commanded by one Captain Smith, who "cruelly murder this young gentleman lying sore wounded, and left his keeper also for death; this was thought an odious deed, barbarous and inhuman, this youth not passing eighteen years of age, which was well revenged by Montrose at Aulderne." No wonder the swords of the Gordons were red that day.

Immediately after the battle, Montrose addressed to Gordon of Buckie, at the Bog of Gight, this simple note :—

"For my loving friend the Goodman of Buckie.

"LOVING FRIEND,

"Having directed some of our wounded men to the Boge, I could not but congratulate our victory yesterday unto you, which by the blessing of God hath been very absolute, as you will learn particularly from those who were present at the battle. So, being confident of your constant resolution and fidelity,—I remain,

"Your loving friend,

"MONTROSE.*

"Aulderne, 10th of May 1645."

The rage of the government at Edinburgh now displayed itself in their more severe treatment of Montrose's relations. "At Aulderne," says Wishart, "the bravery of young Napier shone forth with signal lustre. His father was the Lord Napier of Merchiston, his mother the sister of Montrose. Not long before, he had made his escape to his uncle, from Edinburgh, without the knowledge even of his father and his own

* *Orig.*—In the charter-chest of Lady Bruce of Stenhouse.

wife. In this battle he afforded no mean specimen of his early promise, and displayed the substantial rudiments of a noble nature. Therefore it was that the Committee of Estates took his father (a man on the verge of seventy, and than whom a better Scotland in this age hath never produced), his wife a daughter of the Earl of Mar, his brother-in-law Stirling of Keir (also a most excellent man, the chief of his race, and one who for his loyalty had long and severely suffered), his two sisters, the one a very noble lady married to Keir, the other a young maiden,*—and cast them all into a dungeon, from whence they were destined to be liberated by the Master of Napier himself, under the victorious auspices of his uncle."

Among the melancholy fragments relative to these events, which yet remain in the Napier charter-chest, there is one entitled, "*Copia vera* of a letter to my Lord Balmerino." It is in the handwriting of Lord Napier, being the corrected draft of a letter written in his prison, about a month after the battle of Aulderne, to the president of the Committee of Estates. I shall quote it here.

"MY LORD,

"In regard of your lordship's friendly expressions toward me,† in the hearing of this gentleman, the Laird of Lamerton (of which I shall ever be most sensible), I cannot but complain to you, in private, of the hard measure both I and mine do suffer, beyond my fears, or other men's hopes. Upon all occasions, to be fined, confined, and imprisoned, my houses and lands plundered, my tenants beggared! As for my penalty, I confess it is due by my son's escape, and I was ready to give satisfaction for it. But to be clapt up in prison, and by that means branded with a mark of infamy, as a malefactor, or

* Lillias Napier, who was just eighteen.

† Balmerino, although president of the committees from which emanated the persecution of Napier, was ashamed of their severity towards this venerable and blameless nobleman.

enemy to my country, and exposed to the bad conceit and obloquy of the whole nation, I conceive is a punishment greater by many degrees than the penalty. It is a wound to my honour and reputation, which men of honour prefer to life or fortune. And yet, my lord [it is said], I must not speak of conditions, or capitulate with the Estates! Indeed, if I were a delinquent, I could plead nothing but mercy and favour. But, not being so, all princes and states allow particulars [*i. e.* parties], in matters of justice, to speak reason and to demand conditions, in respective terms (and never thought it a derogation to their majesty, or a blemish to their honour), and to defend their innocency,—without submitting to pleasure, which, in cases of justice, to do, or accept, would infer arbitrary government, which we all condemn so much, and that justly. Neither ought I to be put in this condition for reasons of state,—upon fear I might have joined with the enemy. For what benefit can the enemy get (if I were so foolish) by my company, being ould and not fit for fighting, nor yet for counsel, having no skill nor experience in warlike business! Or what prejudice were it to the state, instead of one man, of whom they could make no use, to have his estate to maintain twenty, every one better able to do them service than he.* Not-the-less of all this expostulation with your lordship, as my noble friend, I am most willing to give the Estates satisfaction, after the reasonable petition of my son-in-law and my daughters receiveth a favourable answer. For without them I value not my liberty, and therefore desire to be spared till then. At which time I shall give satisfaction for my fine, upon your lordship's assurance in honour, under your hand, that I shall be transported to the place assigned to them, being a place free from apparent danger of the plague; and that I may have liberty to go to my lands be-west the brig of Stirling, to give order for labouring and possessing of them, after all this

* *i. e.* If Lord Napier joined the royalists in arms, the Covenanters would take possession of his estates.

spoyle, and to return to the place of confinement again (if ye shall not be pleased to grant full liberty) under the same penalty I was confined before.

" 3 June." [1645.]*

This appeal was not successful. Lord Napier and the ladies of his family continued to be subjected to solitary confinement, as will presently appear.

Having destroyed a fourth army of the Covenant, and cleared the north of his enemy, Montrose marched to Elgin, where he remained a few days, that his wounded men might benefit by the medical assistance which the town afforded. During this pause, however, punishment was inflicted upon all those who had participated in the cruel murder of young Gordon of Rynie (especially the Laird of Innes and Major Sutherland), by laying waste their lands and houses; an act which, as usual, has been exaggerated and unfairly stated against the marquis by partial writers. He then crossed the Spey, and, disposing of his troops in various quarters, remained at Birkenbog, until about the 21st of May, when, hastily collecting them, he marched

* Sir Thomas Hope's Diary ends abruptly at this time, there being blank leaves in the volume after the last entry, which is as follows:

" 15th May 1645. Thursday. This day a general bruit came of a bloody conflict between Montrose and Major Hurry, near to Spynie in Murray, wherein was great slaughter on both sides. But Montrose keeps the fields, and Hurry fled to the castle of Spynie. The Lord be merciful to us.

" But immediately we heard, by letters from the Lord Fraser to the Lord Balmerinoch, and from Sir James Melville to his father-in-law Mr Patrick Fraser, provost of Aberdeen, that Hurry keeps the fields and Montrose flies to the hills; and that it was fochtin in a muir near Aulderne, on Sunday, 9th May, be the space of twelff hours.

" 20th May 1645. Tuesday. The certainty came of the conflict which was worse nor the first report,—and little true of the second,—and the more lamentable that the worthy Laird of Lawers was killed in the conflict."

So ends the Diary of Sir Thomas Hope, his majesty's advocate,—but not for his majesty's interest. He died in the following year, as will be noticed afterwards.

to Strathbogie, having just obtained tidings of another enemy in that neighbourhood. His last blow had been struck at the proper moment ; for on the very day that he gained the victory, General Baillie had crossed the Cairn-a-mount on his way to join Hurry ; and, about the same time that he encamped at Strathbogie, the other took up a position hard by in the wood of Coclarachie, with a force superior to the royal army, which was again diminished by the usual dispersion of the Highlanders. Here Baillie was joined by Sir John, who came from Inverness with the remnant of his horse, about a hundred in number, and crossing the Spey, "goes," says Spalding, "through the Marquis of Montrose's watches, saying, he was the Lord Gordon's man, and fairly wan away past them to Frendraucht, and therefrae passed to Coclarachie, where Baillie was lying." The Covenanters remained under arms, and in order of battle, from four o'clock in the afternoon, during the whole of the night, amused by some manœuvre on the part of the marquis, though his intention was not to risk an engagement until his army should be-recruited.

When day dawned, the discovery was made that the royalists had marched up the Spey to Balveny. Baillie, whom the Committee of Estates were at this time vehemently pressing to bring Montrose to a decisive action at all hazards, followed him with that determination, and got sight of his rear at Glen Livit ; but in spite of his utmost exertions he could not come within six miles of him during that evening's march. By break of day, he again attempted to surprise the Highlanders ; but again they were gone, nor could tidings of their route be obtained. He tracked them, however (to use his own words), "by the lying of the grass and heather," and was thus enabled to conjecture that they had proceeded towards the wood of Abernethy on the Spey. "Thither," says the general, from whose defence the particulars are derived, "I marched, and found them in the entry of Badenoch, a very strait country, where, both for inaccessible rocks, woods, and the interposition of the river, it was impossible for us to come at them. Here we lay looking

one upon another (the enemy having their meal from Ruthven in Badenoch, and flesh from the country, whereof we saw none), until for want of meal (other victuals we had none), the few horsemen* professing they had not eaten in forty-eight hours, I was necessitated to march northwards to Inverness." But he does not venture to tell his angry government the fact recorded by Wishart, namely, that Montrose, though he declined a battle, continued to beat up their quarters in the night-time, and to harass them by continual skirmishes, until upon some sudden panic they retreated in the greatest disorder, and left the royalists unmolested.

A new commander had recently taken the field in the south, with whom the marquis was not a little anxious to measure his strength. This was his old friend Lindsay, now Earl of Lindsay and Crawford, with whom he had held the conversation on the subject of Argyle's dictatorship.† This nobleman, it seems, had severely criticised the campaigns of Argyle, and was thirsting to acquire renown by leading an army forth in the cause of the Covenant. He now lay at the castle of Newtyle, in Angus, with a body of men lately raised. These Montrose resolved to crush at a blow. No sooner, therefore, had he shaken off Baillie, than he again issued from Badenoch, crossed the Grampians, and arrived by forced marches on the banks of the river Airly, within seven miles of the enemy, who knew nothing of his approach. He was now again deprived of Aboyne, who had gone to Strathbogie in ill health, caused by his late exertions; or, as some surmised, secretly instructed by his jealous father not to follow the royal lieutenant be-south the Grampians. Huntly appears

* Baillie had at least 200 horse with him, according to his own statement and defence, addressed in a letter to the Rev. R. Baillie.—*Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 264.

† The loyal Earl of Crawford was at this time a prisoner, and deprived of his honours by the covenanting government. Lindsay laid claim to the earldom of Crawford, and of course had his claim allowed.


to have flattered himself that so long as the operations of the Gordons were confined to the north of those mountains, within the bounds of his own jurisdiction, they might be considered as acting under his commission, rather than under that of his rival. Be this as it may, not only did Aboyne now absent himself, but, as Montrose was on the point of striking a blow at Lindsay, nearly all that were with him of his northern forces suddenly quitted the standard, and returned home. Lord Gordon alone remained firm, evincing the greatest concern at this unexpected treachery, and at the same time such resentment, that it was not without difficulty the marquis prevailed upon him to relinquish the determination of punishing with death some of the deserters who belonged to his own following. Instead of reaping the promised victory, the royal lieutenant was constrained to return northward with his scanty army, having despatched before him the young nobleman just named, and Nathaniel Gordon, to exert their influence in bringing back the runaways. Macdonald was also sent to recruit in the far Highlands, while the commander himself, with the remnant of his troops, took up a strong position at the castle of Corgarff.

Meanwhile Lindsay, having exchanged with Baillie 1000 of his raw levies for as many veterans, sought laurels in a predatory excursion through Athol, which country he entirely desolated. The latter officer, after various military consultations (in the course of which Argyle refused the commission again pressed upon him for pursuing Montrose wherever he went), was despatched to the north, where he ravaged the domains of Huntly, to the very walls of his stately castle of the Bog, which was threatened with destruction. But this magnificent stronghold, the glory of the north, had been put into admirable condition for a siege, by John Gordon of Buckie, who had 100 watchmen nightly set to guard it.

It was this posture of affairs that again induced Montrose (to whom young Huntly had brought back Aboyne and the Gordon cavaliers) to go in search of Baillie, whom he found advantageously posted near the kirk of Keith, having his infantry

disposed on a rising ground, and his cavalry in possession of a narrow pass that separated the hostile armies. After some skirmishing between the light horsemen, both parties remained under arms all night, in expectation of a battle. Early in the morning, the marquis sent a trumpet with his compliments to his antagonist, stating that he would be happy to have the honour of engaging him on the plain. Baillie sent back for answer, that he never took his fighting instructions from the enemy. The other then broke up his own position, and, as if in full retreat, went south to the town of Alford on the Don, with the view of enticing his foe further into the low country, a manœuvre that perfectly succeeded. The covenanting general, who had now learnt that Macdonald was absent with a strong party recruiting in the Highlands, followed the retreating royalists with the determination to risk a fight. Intelligence of his approach, within one mile of Alford, was brought to our chief while in the act of examining the fords of the Don, at the head of a single troop of horse. Leaving this detachment to watch the river, he galloped back alone to order his battle on Alford Hill. His position there was greatly strengthened by a marsh in his rear, intersected with ditches and full of pitfalls, while the ground rose in his front so as to screen part of his troops from the advancing enemy. Disposing of his cavalry on each of the wings, he gave the charge of the right to those inseparable friends, the heir of Huntly, and Nathaniel Gordon. Aboyne and Sir William Rollock commanded on the left. The main body, arranged in files of six deep, he intrusted to Glengary, and Lord Napier's nephew, young Drummond of Balloch, assisted by Quarter-master George Graham. The reserve he concealed immediately behind the brow of the hill, and gave the command of it to the Master of Napier. Montrose himself and the standard, attended by a few choice cavaliers, occupied the centre of the royal battle. Macdonald and young Inchbrakie, with a large proportion of their respective followers, were unfortunately absent. Nor had Airly and his party yet been able to rejoin the army.

No sooner were these dispositions made, than the troop which had been left to watch the fords returned on the spur, with the intelligence, that Baillie had crossed the Don, and was embattled in a position possessing similar advantages to the ground occupied by the royalists. The armies thus confronted were nearly equal in respect of foot, about 2000 each. The parliamentary cavalry outnumbered Montrose's, being 600 to 250; the latter, however, were for the most part gentlemen. Their horse were commanded by the gallant Earl of Balcarres, who, it is alleged, hurried Baillie into this battle by the forwardness of his movements. According to the *Clanranald MS.*, one of the covenanting leaders addressed the troops in these words:—"The enemy opposed to you are in the habit of making the first onset; do not allow them to have that advantage to-day,—engage them instantly." But this change of tactics was not destined to deprive the royalist chief of his laurels. Judging that their recruits would be unnerved by the clang of his trumpets and the shouts of his men, he no longer hesitated to give the order to advance. On the instant, Lord Gordon, and his chivalrous friend, launched their right wing against the three squadrons of Balcarres's horse, who met the desperate shock of the Gordons with such determination that, for a time, the contending parties were mingled in a dense mass, and the result was doubtful. The first who made a lane for themselves with their swords, were the gallant lord himself and Nathaniel. Immediately the latter called out to the swift musketeers who had followed the charge,—“Throw down your muskets, and hamstring their horses with your swords, or sheath them in their bellies.” Balcarres's squadrons now fled in confusion, and while the Gordons pursued them with great slaughter from the field, Montrose brought his main body against the regiments of the Covenant, who stood up manfully, but in vain, against the murderous claymore. At this decisive moment, too, the Master of Napier was ordered up with the reserve, who no sooner made their appearance than the rebels gave way at every point, and the battle of Alford was gained.



But dearly was that victory purchased by Montrose. It appears that the Covenanters brought along with them all the cattle they had driven from the rich domains of Strathbogie and the Enzie. These were placed within some enclosures, and guarded by two companies of their infantry during the battle, a sight which roused not a little the wrath of Lord Gordon, who said to his followers,—“Let none doubt that I will bring Baillie by the throat from the centre of his men.” In a second charge he was nearly as good as his word. But, while in the act of seizing the general by the sword-belt, a well-directed fire was poured upon him from the enclosures, and the knightly plume of the too forward heir of Huntly fell in the dust to rise no more.* In vain did the marquis in person, alluring these successful musketeers from behind their intrenchments, cut them in pieces on the plain: he on whom alone of his gallant and loyal house he could undoubtedly depend,—the youth who was daily redeeming his kindred from the disheartening jealousy of its absent chief, and from the wayward caprices of its younger scions,—was now lost for ever to Montrose and his country! His fall paralyzed all further pursuit, and the mournful silence with which the melancholy news was at first received by the army, soon burst into a wild howl of lamentation in the hour of victory. Plunder was forgotten as his followers crowded round the body of the young chief, and lauded the beauty of his person even in death. “Nothing,” adds Wishart, “could have supported the army under this immense deprivation but the presence of Montrose, whose safety brought gladness and revived their drooping spirits. Yet Montrose himself could not restrain his grief, but mourned bitterly as if for his dearest and only friend. Grievously he complained that one who was the ornament of the Scottish nobility, and the boldest assertor of the royal authority in the north, his best and bosom friend, should be thus cut off in the flower of his age.”

* Clanranald MS.

Thus died George lord Gordon, in his twenty-eighth year, a nobleman who stood in the highest estimation both as to courage and military skill. The marquis gave orders to embalm the body, and for some days his army seemed like a funeral procession. They first marched to Cluny, and from thence to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen; there the commander left his camp, and, attended by 100 chosen footmen, proceeded with the body, in company with Lord Aboyne and many gentlemen, to the cathedral church in the old town, where the young chief was deposited in the aisle of St John the Evangelist (now called the Gordon's aisle), by the side of his mother. The marquis returned with a heavy heart to his leaguer, while Aboyne, now the heir of Huntly, went northward to Strathbogie, promising to bring a host of Gordons to the standard.

The parliament met on the 8th of July at Stirling, in consequence of the plague raging in Edinburgh. Baillie having petitioned the house for his exoneration, and explained the causes of his failure, was received into favour, and although not again commissioned as commander-in-chief, was sent, almost by compulsion, to superintend the re-organization of the several regiments, being in fact too good a general for them to discharge. But while the responsibility was thus cast upon him, Argyle and other noblemen were joined in command, and, according to his own complaint, distracted and controlled his military councils. An act was passed, on the first day of the session, for levying a new army against Montrose, which was to consist of from 8000 to 10,000 foot, and between 400 and 500 horse. The rendezvous was appointed to be at Perth, on the 24th of the same month of July; and there on that day the parliament itself assembled, having been chased from Stirling by the progress of the pestilence. The Lord Lyon adds, little was done but arraying and mustering of men and horse, until Wednesday the 30th of July, when, at the conclusion of a fast, the nobles met in the house for the despatch of business.

Montrose, having heard of this assemblage, determined to scatter them if he could. He had marched into Angus, where he was joined by Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, with the men of Athol, and by Macdonald who, having been most successful during his recruiting excursion in the Highlands, brought with him Maclean and 700 of his clan, and the Captain of Clanranald with 500 of his followers. Wishart adds, that "Glengary,—who deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose, whom he had never left from the time of the expedition into Argyleshire,—by his uncles and other friends brought up 500 more." To these were joined a large body of the Macgregors and Macnabs, under their respective chieftains, with the Macphersons from Badenoch, and Farquharsons from Braemar. There were great rejoicings as the clans marched into the royal camp, and each company was separately presented to the marquis, who bestowed the highest commendations upon their loyalty and gallant bearing. The chronicler of these events, in the Clanranald manuscript, is particularly eloquent in praise of John of Moidart's son Donald, a youth of twenty years of age. "Young Donald, and his men," he adds, "brought more *creachs* to the camp than any others. Many of the Highlanders, when sent to drive a prey, drove it on to their own countries without asking the general's leave; John of Moidart would allow none of his men to leave him; but there was *another* reason for this, namely, that it was not easy for the men from the islands to drive their prey home from the low country; hence the raising of *creachs* fell to their share all summer: young Donald took a large prey from the Lord Marischal's country, and from the Mearns and Angus; an old man whom they met there, told them that the Mearns had not been used so since Donald of the Isles *creached* them, the year that he fought the battle of Harlaw." Between 4000 and 5000 of the stoutest and truest hearts in Scotland now supported the standard, and Montrose felt that he had conquered the rebels in Scotland, if but one

other person, on whom he greatly depended, should keep his appointment. But he waited, and wrote in vain; and as Aboyne had not fulfilled his promise to return with the Gordons, he was now only provided with 100 horse. The immediate consequence was, that he could not carry into execution his plan of at once descending into the low countries to attack the new levies of the Covenant, now encamped upon the south side of the Earn. They were about 6000 strong, independently of the garrison in Perth, and of 400 dragoons who protected the parliament there assembled. Still in the hope of being joined by the Huntly cavaliers, he crossed the Tay at Dunkeld, and, after pausing on the banks of the Almond, drew near to the town just specified, and encamped in the wood of Methven, some day in the last week of July.*

* It was probably terror for Montrose that at this time dictated the following show of lenity towards his innocent and persecuted relatives. In the original MS. Record of Parliament, of date 30th July 1645, there appears an act for the liberation of Archibald lord Napier, which narrates the terms of a supplication from his lordship, making mention that "he has remained prisoner within the castle of Edinburgh this many weeks bygone, whereof a long season in close ward, none having access to him, where-through he is not only in great hazard of his life, through infection of the plague of pestilence, the sickness being now come within the bounds of the said castle, whereof six persons are already dead, but likewise makes him altogether unable to perform that which the said Estates has ordained anent the payment of the sum incurred by him through his son's escape." Lord Napier also refers to a letter from the constable of the castle, testifying the recent death of six individuals within its walls from the plague. The Estates grant the petition, and ordain Lord Napier to be liberated from the castle, but that he is forthwith "to pass and remain either within the town of Haddington or within a mile about the same, or to remain in his own house of Merchiston or within a mile about the same, at his option,"—and this under caution for 40,000 merks, John lord Erskine being cautioner.

Then follows, in the same record, an act for the liberation of the Lady Elizabeth Napier, and Mrs Lilius Napier, upon their joint supplication, narrating that, "whereas it hath pleased the Committee of Estates to commit them to ward within the castle of Edinburgh, where they have remained in close prison long, none having access to them."

Great was the consternation in Perth and among the members of parliament, and not very comfortable were the feelings of the protecting army, when this unwelcome visitor was announced. The panic was increased when there appeared on the following day, a cloud of cavalry advancing towards the town. Immediately the gates were made fast, and not one covenanting trooper dared to show his face. Montrose's stratagem was successful. Ever fertile in expedients to aid his defective resources, he had mounted 100 musketeers upon the baggage horses, and mixed them so among his regular cavalry as to

The petition proceeds to narrate that the plague is raging around and within the walls of the castle, and that six have already died, as certified by the constable, "which," they piteously declare, "now hath added *great fear to their former comfortless estates*." This petition is granted, but the ladies are ordained, "immediately after their removal from the said castle of Edinburgh, to pass and remain in family with John earl of Mar, to the which place the saids Estates have confined them,"—and the earl and his son Lord Erskine are required to be their cautioners, in 20,000 merks each, that they remain there or within a mile about it.

The next entry in reference to this subject is dated 7th August 1645, being an act for the liberation of "James Graham, son to James Graham, formerly Earl of Montrose;" and it proceeds upon a similar petition, referring to the danger incurred from the plague. And they "ordain the said James Graham, supplicant, to be delivered to the Earl of Dalhousie to be educated, the Lord Carnegie being caution for his good carriage and behaviour, under the pain of forty thousand pounds."

Of the same date follows the act for the liberation of Sir George Stirling of Keir, and his petition narrates that he "has been confined partly in the castle of Edinburgh, and partly in the castle of Blackness, since April last, whereof by the space of a month in close prison." He is allowed to pass to Linlithgow, and to meet and converse with his lady, and to confine himself within his former bounds there, under his former bond of caution.

None of the parties appear to have been released in terms of the deliverance on their respective petitions; or, at all events, they had been again committed to close confinement before the battle of Kilsyth. Moreover, Lord Napier paid the large sum of ten thousand pounds Scots for the escape of his son, according to the original receipt in the Napier charter-chest, dated 6th August 1645.

create the appearance of a formidable array. Having accomplished his object of confining the enemy within the walls, he turned aside with his cavaliers to Duplin, coolly surveyed the fords of the Earn and the whole strath, and for a time deceived the opposite party into a belief that he was attended by a body of horse sufficient to keep the whole country in subjection. Presently, however, it was discovered that he had scarcely 100 effective dragoons, and then the covenanting generals marched out against him with a force so vastly superior, that our hero, effecting an admirable retreat, in which every attack upon his rear was repulsed, again took refuge in the hills. In the wood of Methven, some of the wives and other females, who accompanied the royalists in great numbers, had been left behind, and when that camp was occupied by the Covenanters, such of the unfortunate women as fell into their hands were butchered in cold blood. This cruel act appears to have been consequent upon the following exploit:—Just as Montrose was entering the defiles he sought, his pursuers charged his rear with 300 of their best horsemen, picked for the occasion, who came on boldly with shouts, and very insulting language. Anticipating the manœuvre, he had selected twenty of his most active men who could bring down a deer at some hundred paces with a single bullet. These sharp-shooters went quietly forth against the insulting foe, and, concealing their long guns and creeping on their hands and knees through the brush-wood till within shot of the troopers, took each of them a deliberate and separate aim, which caused some of the flower of the covenanting cavalry to bite the dust, and threw the rest into such confusion that the few Highlanders, rushing from their covert, put the whole party to shameful route, without losing a single man. But the unfortunate females paid the penalty.*

* Wishart.—In the Clanranald MS. occurs the following graphic description of the mode in which these Highland marksmen checked the pursuing cavalry. "One day, when the pursuit was closer than

Montrose now pitched his camp at Dunkeld, in sight of the enemy, who made no attempt to dislodge him. Soon afterwards he was joined by those whom he so anxiously expected, namely, Aboyne and Nathaniel Gordon, who brought with them only 200 horse, and 120 musketeers mounted as dragoons upon the carriage horses. This was far below the expectations of the marquis, and indicated that the loyalty of the north was still paralyzed by the lurking jealousy of Huntly. But those who did come were choice warriors, and invaluable at this moment to the royal army. Not less so was the Earl of Airly, who, now restored to health, once more rejoined the standard, attended by his son Sir David Ogilvy, with a troop of eighty gentlemen of the same name. Of these, the youngest and most interesting was Alexander, the son of Sir John of Innerquharity, a very ancient family, to which this boy already added the lustre of courage and genius. Such is Dr Wishart's eulogy of him; and the Covenanters themselves have justified it by the death to which they consigned him on a scaffold.

Thus reinforced, Montrose lost no time in dislodging the enemy from the wood of Methven, and again driving them across the Earn. They took up a strong position at Kilgraston; upon which, finding it impossible to force a battle, he employed himself in endeavouring to disperse or intercept the

usual, it happened that John of Moidart (Captain of Clanranald) and his people were in the rear, and the major-general with them: A horseman came out of the enemy's ranks, to prevent them from crossing a ford; and he took three or four of their baggage horses: Angus Mac Ailin Duibh* was in the rear of his own company, mounted on a bare-backed horse, carrying a long gun, across before him: One of the times that the horseman came after Angus, as it was not on horse-back that he was accustomed to fight, he dismounted, and letting go his horse, he placed his gun upon a stone, and fired: *He of the red bundle* fell under his horse's feet: After this the enemy were not so bold that day, nor the next day. Thirteen or fourteen warriors were then ordered to attend to nothing but to chase those who were more troublesome than the rest."

* See him mentioned before, p. 290.

levies which they were expecting from the fanatical shire of Fife. On his march to Kinross, an incident occurred which illustrates the spirit and daring of the royalists. He had sent forward Sir William Rollock and Nathaniel Gordon with an advanced guard to reconnoitre the country. While this body of horse was separated into smaller parties, in order to gather intelligence, their two gallant leaders, having only ten men along with them, suddenly came upon a party of the enemy, to the number of 200, not a few of whom were mounted. Finding retreat impossible, these twelve cavaliers charged the whole body, who immediately fled, leaving some dead, and others captive in the hands of the victors. After this exploit they rejoined the royal lieutenant, who determined to cross the Forth, that, by fighting a battle near the capital, he might command the south of Scotland and be ready to form a junction on the Borders with the king. Since his fatal overthrow at Naseby, which occurred on the 14th of June 1645, Charles himself had no other hope. On his way to Stirling, Montrose passed through the parishes of Muckart and Dollar, belonging to Argyle, which were burnt and wasted by the Macleans in retaliation for the Dictator's ravages among their highland-homes, now avenged by the destruction of Castle Campbell.* That such ravages were not always made with the concurrence of the commander-in-chief, is proved by an interesting circumstance that occurred at this period. The royalists after passing through the possessions of Argyle came into the lordship of Alloa, belonging to the Earl of Mar. This nobleman and his son Lord Erskine, were now decidedly, though not actively, loyal, and were besides closely allied in blood and affection with Lord Napier. Yet the Irish under Macdonald barbarously plundered his town and domains, while Mar with all his family were residing in his castle of Alloa, and Montrose was encamped hard by in the wood of Tillibody. And

* Guthry.—The ruins of this magnificent pile, so well known to the admirers of Scottish scenery, still remain a sad monument of those "unkindly wars."

the very next day the earl invited the royal lieutenant, his own son-in-law the Master of Napier, the Earl of Airly, and the most distinguished of the staff, to dine with him in the castle. "So," adds Bishop Guthry, "Montrose appointed Maconald to march westward with the foot army, and bringing his horse for a guard, himself and the Earl of Airly, and many more, were liberally feasted in the castle of Alloa; after which, having notice of the enemy's advancing towards them, they made the greater haste to overtake their foot. And being met, and considering the town of Stirling was consumed by the pestilence, resolved to pass by it, and so crossed both the Teith and Forth two miles to the northward of it, and from thence marched on to Kilsyth, where they found the ground so advantageous for them as made them resolve to halt there until their enemies should come that length, which very shortly fell out."

Meanwhile, the army of the Covenant, which had been reinforced by three regiments from Fife, and another composed of Argyleshire Highlanders, continued to follow the footsteps of the loyalists. Argyle himself was in reality the commander of that army, and as he passed by Stirling he too left his mark. He caused the house of Menstrie belonging to the Earl of Stirling, and the mansion of Airthrey the property of Graham of Braco, to be laid in ashes; sending at the same time an insolent notification to Lord Mar, that, when he should return from destroying the royal army a like fate should befall his castle of Alloa, for having feasted "that excommunicated traitor."* And so saying, the Dictator marched on to the bridge of Denny, and from that to a place called the Holland-bush, where they encamped, about two miles and a

* General Baillie, in his defence, points to Argyle's control, when he says,—“while I was present, others did sometimes undertake the command of the army; without either my order or knowledge, fire was raised, and that destroyed which might have been a recompense to some good deserver, for which I would not be answerable to the public.”

half from Kilsyth. Such were the preliminaries to the bloodiest, the most effective, and the last of the great Montrose's victories.

According to Bishop Guthry, the Covenanters were 7000 strong. Dr Wishart says 6000 foot and 800 horse, and that the royalists numbered 4400 foot and 500 horse, which, adds an old historian of the family of Gordon, "I take to be a pretty exact account of the number of that army." Unquestionably Argyle had the greater strength, else he would not have given battle. The commanders under him were Tullibardine, Lindsay, Balcarres, Burleigh, Elcho, and Baillie; every one of whom Montrose had signally beaten, with the exception of Lindsay whom he had only scared. A vivid idea of the fight is presented to us by the principal actors on both sides; namely, in General Baillie's defence, and in Wishart's Latin history, which latter may be considered the account furnished by the victor himself. We shall first turn to the details supplied by the former.

About the peep of dawn, on the morning of the 15th of August 1645, Argyle, Burleigh, and some others, proceeded to the general's tent, when the following dialogue occurred between him and Gillespie Gruamach.

ARGYLE.—"Whereabouts are the rebels?"

BAILLIE.—"At Kilsyth."

ARGYLE.—"Might we not advance nearer them?"

BAILLIE.—"We are near enough as it is, if we do not intend to fight, and your lordship knows well how rough and uneasy a way lies betwixt them and us."

ARGYLE.—"We need not keep the highway,—we may march upon them by a near cut."

BAILLIE.—"Then let the Earl of Crawford (Lindsay) and the rest of the committee be called in from the next tent."

The result of the conference was, that Baillie marched the regiments through the corn fields and over the braes, till they were induced to halt from the nature of the ground opposing

a barrier, and at the same time affording a protection. He was now urged to take up his position on a particular spot. To this he replied :—" If the rebels engage us there, I conceive they will have the advantage,—if we beat them to the hills, that will be little advantage to us—to lose the day will be to lose the kingdom." The general then took the votes, when Balcarres alone sided with him, Argyle and the rest agreeing that they should draw towards the hill on their right. Accordingly the musketeers were sent in that direction, and Major Halden was instructed to guide them to some enclosures which were pointed out to him. Baillie himself followed with Balcarres and the cavalry, whom he ordered to keep close to the marksmen in the van. The various regiments in the rear were at the same time directed to march upwards in such order as the difficult nature of the ground would admit. The general, accompanied by Lindsay and Burleigh, then galloped to the top of the ascent, in order to view the posture of the enemy.

Beneath them, at some distance, lay extended a meadow, upon which Montrose had drawn up his army in battle-array, —and a most imposing spectacle it must have been,—those gallant clans, and high-blooded cavaliers, clustering round the only standard of Charles the First that had proved worthy of his cause. The plain and the hill were united by a glen whose rugged sides were clothed with underwood ; and some enclosures and cottages scattered about the foot of the declivity, suggested the points where the struggle was likely to commence. When the two noblemen and Baillie took their hasty glance at this exciting prospect, they saw a large body of the Highlanders, apparently in confusion, threading their way, through the bushes in the glen, with the utmost rapidity. Returning on the spur, they brought the intelligence to the Marquis of Argyle, who, in company with some others, had arrived at the top of the hill. Baillie at the same time perceived Major Halden leading some infantry, without orders from him, over a field to a house near the ravine, and having tried in vain to recall them, he told Argyle and those with him to retire, and every

officer to go to his place, while he himself and Balcarres rushed back to the regiments at the bottom of the hill.

"What am I to do now!" said the brave nobleman just named. "Draw up your regiment on the right of Lauderdale's," replied Baillie; "let both regiments face to the right, and march to the foot of the hill,—let Hume's regiment follow, halt when they halt, and keep distance and front with them."—"And what shall I do with my regiment?" said another officer, —who proved to be not Argyle, but his major. "Draw up on the left of Hume, in the same order," replied the general, and galloped on. But looking back to ascertain that his orders were obeyed, he saw Hume's regiment going off at a trot towards the enclosures upon which the enemy were advancing. This caused him to return as fast as he could, and meeting the adjutant on the way, he ordered Lindsay's regiment to take up the position on the left of Lauderdale's, and the Fife regiments to remain in reserve. He then rode after Hume's; but that regiment, ere he could reach them, had, along with Argyle's (not led on by the marquis) and two others got into an enclosure near the enemy, who were eagerly rushing on. The Covenanters had commenced a distant and disorderly fire, which Baillie in vain exerted himself to restrain. What his own plan of the battle may have been, amid all these untoward events, is not very manifest; and if he understood it himself, it is clear, from his own account, that nobody else did. The result is given by him more intelligibly, and is highly characteristic of his loyal opponents. "The rebels," as he is pleased to call them, "leapt over the dike, and with *down heads* fell on and broke these regiments." He adds, that all the officers present behaved well, and "I saw none careful to save themselves *before* the routing of the regiments." Spurring his horse to the brow of the hill, he found Major-general Holbourn, and this officer directed his attention to a squadron of the cavaliers who, after overthrowing the horse under Lieutenant-colonel Murray, had defeated the regiment of Lindsay, and others in that quarter. Both of them now made the utmost haste to bring up the reserve; but see-

ing that body already scattered, and having done what they could to rally some of the fugitives, they rode off to Stirling, where they found most of their comrades safely lodged within the defences of that town and castle. On the subject of the great Argyle's demeanour during the battle and subsequent flight, General Baillie is silent.

We now turn to the view afforded by Dr Wishart on the other side.

When Montrose first pitched his tent in the fields about Kilsyth, he was not certain whether to fight or to continue his march. But having learned that Hamilton's brother, Lanerick, had raised a large force in Clydesdale for the Covenant, and that he was within fifteen miles of him, while Cassilis, Eglinton, Glencairn, and other noblemen were also raising troops in the west country for the same cause, he determined to meet Baillie without delay. The unusually forward motions and fighting attitude which the enemy displayed on the morning of the 15th, indicated a consciousness of their numerical superiority sufficient to make them desirous to engage. "So much the better," exclaimed he, when he was informed of their proceedings, "it is the very thing I want; and as for their numbers, we have the best ground, which is more than half the battle." He then busied himself in the most judicious preparations for the approaching fight, and sent out parties to take possession of such advantages as the locality afforded. Moreover, he ordered both horse and foot to divest themselves of all superfluous weight, and to make the assault in their under garments. Between him and his opponents were a few scattered cottages and rustic gardens (probably those referred to in the narrative of General Baillie), and the first skirmishing that occurred was in consequence of an attempt made by the Covenanters to dislodge a party of the royalists from some of these strongholds. The gallantry with which the assailants were beaten back, excited the rest of the Highlanders to such a degree, that nearly a thousand of them, without waiting for orders, ran up the hill, as if with

the intention of charging the whole of the enemy. Montrose himself, displeased with the want of subordination, and alarmed at this rashness, watched the event with anxiety, especially as he observed a large body of infantry and several troops of horse drawing forward, though somewhat tardily, to meet this attack. Upon which, turning to the Earl of Airly, he told him, that if those forward Highlanders were not immediately supported, they would be cut in pieces by the enemy's cavalry ; and he added,—“ The eyes and wishes of the whole army are upon you, my Lord Airly, as the person most capable, by your authority, discretion, and bravery, to save these men, and redeem the day from their want of discipline.” This nobleman was between sixty and seventy years old, and, moreover, had just recovered from a fever. But he was an Ogilvy, and young Innerquharity himself could not have responded to the appeal with more gallant alacrity than did their venerable chief. Surrounded by the gentlemen of his own name, and at the head of a troop commanded by John Ogilvy of Baldavie, an excellent officer, who had been a colonel in the Swedish service, he charged the enemy's horse with irresistible effect. These were driven back upon the infantry they meant to support, and this repulse created a confusion in their ranks that was decisive of the day. The battle then resolved into a general rush of the royalists upon the wavering rebels, who gave way at every point, and in the chase of fourteen miles which ensued, it is said that not fewer than from five to six thousand of them paid the forfeit of their lives. In the army of Montrose not so many hundreds were slain or disabled.

The leading features of the battle, as given in Baillie's narrative, and in what may be considered the report of his antagonist, can be easily identified. It is added by Dr Wishart, that while most of the fugitive noblemen saved themselves by escaping to the castle of Stirling, Argyle and a few with him betook themselves to the water, at the Firth of Forth, and sought safety in some vessels lying at anchor in the roads.

Nor did the Dictator feel himself secure, until he had caused them to put out to sea.*

* Guthry says, "The Covenanters never stood to it, but upon the first charge given by the Earl of Airly and his friends, did all fly on a sudden, their horse riding over the foot, and among the horse the nobles, the first of any; but beyond them all, the Marquis of Argyle, who never looked over his shoulder, until, after twenty miles riding, he reached the South Queensferry, where he possessed himself of a boat again." To these contemporary accounts of the battle of Kilsyth may be added the following particulars from the *Clanranald MS.* "Montrose came near Kilsyth by a night march, and formed a camp. Early next morning, the great army of the Covenanters appeared in sight, both horse and foot. Montrose held a council of war, and referred it to his whole army, whether to fight or retreat. All declared rather fight than retreat. Yet the troops had been long without food. Montrose sent his trumpet with a challenge, at which the great army gave a shout, and drew out in order of battle, 3000 pikemen, and 11,000 in battalions behind these, and you may think it was hard work for our small numbers to face. The fight was hard. The Highlanders had 4000 foot, and 500 horses; and they fixed their shirts between their legs. The horsemen had white shirts over their armour. We advanced gallantly against a battery of great guns. Battle commenced by an excellent regiment of Scotch and Irish good marksmen. Major Lauchlin at their head, and MacColl directing and exhorting them. Two regiments were sent to assist MacColl. Donald, son of the captain of Clanranald, and Donald MacEachain Oig Maclean, strove who should first engage. The Clan Ranald took a short cut, and got first to engage. Donald and his men, and Patrick Coach MacGregor and his men, in one regiment,—Clanranald gave the assault, and young Donald was the first man who leaped the entrenchments, and his people after him. The enemy was completely routed."

As to the horsemen having "white shirts over their armour," it would rather appear that Montrose had ordered them to disencumber themselves of the heavy armour that was over their shirts; for Dr Wishart states it thus: "*Suis insuper omnibus, equiti juxta ac pediti imperat, ut positis molestioribus vestibus, et solis indutiis supernè amicti, et in albis emicantes, hostibus insultarent.*" Montrose's army had to charge up hill, in the middle of August.

CHAPTER XI.

Results of the Battle of Kilsyth—Montrose encamps at Bothwell—The Master of Napier releases his Relatives from Imprisonment at Linlithgow—Lord Graham remains a Prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh—Montrose corresponds with Drummond of Hawthornden—Sir Robert Spottiswood joins Montrose with a new Commission from the King—Montrose deserted by the Highlanders—Proceeds to the South, and endeavours to raise the Chivalry of the Borders—Desperate Fortunes of the King in England—Aboyne deserts Montrose—Ogilvy's Letter to Aboyne—Montrose approaches the Borders by Command of the King—Reduced State of Montrose's Army—Disappointed in his Hopes of Assistance from England—Spottiswood's Letter to Lord Digby—Letter from the King to Montrose—Surprised at Philiphaugh by David Leslie and his Cavalry—His Troops surrounded and taken Prisoners—Their Massacre after Quarter granted—Fate of Montrose and his Friends—The Standard saved—The King's Anxiety to join Montrose—Failure of Digby's Expedition—The King's Letter from Newark to Montrose.

THE immediate effect of this victory affords a curious commentary on the grand national movement. "The whole country," says Dr Wishart, "now resounded Montrose's praise. His unparalleled magnanimity and bravery, his happiness in devising his plans of operation, and his rapidity in the execution of them, his unshaken resolution and intrepidity, even in the greatest dangers, and his patience under the severest deprivations and fatigues, his faithfulness and strict observance of his promises to such as submitted, and his clemency towards his prisoners,—in short, that heroic virtue which displayed itself in all his actions, was extolled to the skies and filled the mouths of all ranks of men, and several poems and pane-

gyrics were wrote upon this occasion to his honour. Most of these encomiums were sincere and well intended ; but some of them, it must be confessed, proceeded from mere craft and dissimulation. So unsteady is the tide of human affairs, so fleeting and precarious the affections of the mob, that Argyle, Balmerino, Lindsay, Loudon, and the other ringleaders of the faction, the very *coryphæi* of the Covenant, who so lately had been flattered and idolized, were now publicly exclaimed against as the authors of all the evil troubles of the times."

After the battle of Kilsyth, Montrose marched into Clydesdale to meet the levies of the Earl of Lanerick ; but this nobleman had already fled, and his recruits were dispersed. The victor then proceeded to Glasgow, which he entered amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, having been previously invited by a deputation to honour their city with his presence. Even his enemies admit, that in this hour of uncontrolled command his conduct was studiously lenient. To relieve them of the burden of supporting his men, he withdrew them on the second day, and encamped at the distance of six miles, indulging the inhabitants with the privilege of having a civic guard to protect their property from stragglers. At Bothwell complimentary addresses poured in from all quarters of Scotland, and were presented to him by special commissioners. Moreover, there came in person, to declare their loyalty and offer their services, the Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Linlithgow, Annandale, and Hartfell, the Lords Erskine, Seton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderty, Carnegie, and Johnston, Charteris of Amisfield, Towers of Inverleith, Stewart of Rosyth, and various others. Thus was he now publicly acknowledged as the king's representative, and suddenly found himself the centre of a court.

Cassilis, Eglinton, and Glencairn were understood to be collecting forces in the western shires, as well as in the towns of Ayr and Irvine. To repress these movements he despatched Macdonald and Drummond of Balloch, with a strong party, who encountered not the slightest opposition. Glencairn and

Cassilis fled to Ireland, and Argyle, Lanerick, and Lindsay to Berwick. The counties of Renfrew and Ayr had previously sent deputations deprecating his wrath, and imputing to the agitation of their clergymen all their sins of rebellion. Montrose accepted their apology, took their oaths of allegiance, and dismissed them as friends. He had instructed Macdonald and Drummond to exact submission from every one in that seditious quarter ; but, so far from meeting rebels, it seemed to them as if they were making a progress through the most loyal district in Scotland. Nowhere, says Guthry, did they receive so hearty a welcome as at Loudon Castle. The chancellor of course was not at home ; but his lady received them with open arms, gave them a sumptuous entertainment, and sent her major-domo, John Halden, back with them to their leader to present her humble service to the king's representative.

While young Drummond was thus employed in the west, the son of Lord Napier was sent upon a yet more important mission ; namely, to take possession of Linlithgow and Edinburgh, according to written orders, of which the original is still preserved by his representative. The instructions are addressed to the Master of Napier and Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and run in the name of Montrose as lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Scotland. These officers are commanded to take along with them "500 horsemen and 500 dragoons," and to proceed to Linlithgow, where they were to proclaim a meeting of parliament in name of his majesty. They are next desired to send a trumpet or drum, with a summons to the magistrates of Edinburgh, while the cavalry were to remain stationed between that town and Linlithgow : "keeping yourselves free of all places suspected to be spoiled with the infection, as you will answer on the contrary at your highest peril." Having done this, they were to return with all possible diligence to the army. These orders are dated and signed by Montrose "at our leaguer at Bothwell, 20th August 1645."*

* This interesting document is given verbatim in *Montrose and the Covenanters*, vol. ii. p. 449.

This was a happy mission for young Napier. From the prison of Linlithgow he released his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, his venerable father, his two sisters, and his brother-in-law Sir George Stirling.* The youth, for whose escape they had been thus immured, now returned to them, after the lapse of three months, at the head of a thousand cavaliers, and delegated with the authority of a conqueror. But the marquis's own son, Lord Graham, remained a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, which was still in possession of the Covenanters. "The soul of the great Montrose," says Saint Serf, "lives eminently in his son, which began early to show its vigour, when your lordship, then not full twelve years old, was close prisoner, after the battle of Kilcuth, in Edinburgh castle, from whence you nobly refused to be exchanged, lest you should cost your great father the benefit of a prisoner; wherein he gladly met your resolution, both so conspiring to this glorious action that neither out-did the other, though all the world besides."†

Napier and Nathaniel Gordon, having executed their commission at Linlithgow,‡ proceeded to Edinburgh, and, in

* These had been sent there from Edinburgh castle, where the plague was raging, and are all specially enumerated by Dr Wishart, as having been released by the Master of Napier from the prison of Linlithgow upon that occasion. He could not be mistaken as to the facts, for he was chaplain to Lord Napier, as well as to Montrose, and was domesticated abroad with Montrose, Napier, and Lilius Napier, when he was writing his history. Guthry also records the incident.

† "Entertainments of the Course, &c., rendered into English by Thomas Saint Serf, gent.; London, 1658." The expressions quoted in the text occur in the translator's dedication of this scarce work to the second Marquis of Montrose himself. See the *Abbotsford Miscellany*, and before p. 321.

‡ In the MS. autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald in the Auchinleck library, mentioned by Boswell in his *Life of Johnson* (Croker's edit. vol. iv. p. 82), Sir Robert records of himself, that, "in the year 1645, the time of the plague, I stayed at Linlithgow, at James Crawford, our cousin's house, till some were infected in the town, at which time my parents removed me with them to the Kipps till the infection

terms of their instructions, halting within four miles of the town, they sent a trumpet to summon it in name of the king. The consternation of the civic authorities was great. Expecting nothing less than destruction to the town, from the conqueror whose own person and name had suffered so many indignities there, and whose dearest friends were at the moment enduring restraint under their hands, they cast themselves in an agony of terror upon the merciful intercession of those very prisoners. At a meeting of the town-council, it was determined to send their humblest submission by delegates to Montrose, and they released from the tolbooth Ludovick earl of Crawford, and Lord Ogilvy, entreating them to interpose on their behalf. Accordingly these noblemen accompanied the deputies, and thus the Master of Napier had not only the pleasure of releasing his own relatives, but of bringing to his uncle, a few days after he had set out on his mission, the four friends and advisers whom of all others he loved, namely, Napier, Ogilvy, Crawford, and Sir George Stirling of Keir. The envoys made a free and unconditional surrender of their city, confessed guilt, implored pardon, and promised whatever was required of them. They declared their readiness to make instant levies for the royal army, were it not that their miserable town was nearly depopulated by the plague ; but in the mean time they would contribute money for that purpose, and exert their utmost influence to have the castle delivered up to the king. They had been drawn, they added, into the crime of rebellion by the craft, power, and example of a few seditious leaders, but they willingly pledged themselves never again to hold communion with rebels, and took with alacrity and pleasure the proffered oath of allegiance. Montrose, in return, gave them reason to hope for the royal forgiveness, and

was over. As I went there with my nurse, we met a troop of Montrose's men, who passed us without doing us any harm."—*Analecta Scotica*. Napier and Nathaniel Gordon were not likely to make war upon women and children, which is more than can be said for the Covenanters.

exacted nothing from them but these promises. Saint Serf, in his dedication to the second marquis, already quoted, has preserved, along with his panegyric, some particulars not afforded elsewhere. "That immortal hero, your glorious father, being, to all who knew him, one of the most munificent as well as magnificent personages in the world, which too well appeared when cities, after victories, tendered large sums to be freed from the present encumbrance of his army: He satisfied their desires, but refused their moneys, still saying, that he could not have their hearts and their purses—his work was to vindicate his master's rights, and restore them to their wonted happiness." The only one of all these pledges fulfilled by the magistrates of Edinburgh was the immediate release of the prisoners in the tolbooth, who, on the return of the delegates, obtained their liberty, and joined the camp. These were Lord Reay, young Irving of Drum, Ogilvy of Powry, and Dr Wishart.* Two other conspicuous individuals also at this crisis made a voluntary offer of their services and allegiance, namely, the Justice-clerk Sir John Hamilton of Orbistoun, a prominent member of the Committee of Estates, and Archibald Primrose of Carrington, no less distinguished as Clerk of Council and of the Estates. Montrose considered their accession as very important, expecting that the influence of Sir John would bring over Lanerick himself to the cause of the king; but Lord Napier judged otherwise, and augured no good from their presence. He even counselled the marquis to beware lest they should breed dissension in his camp, and expressed his belief that for such a purpose they had been sent by the Hamilton faction.

It is interesting to observe that when flushed with victory, and in possession for the time of the government of Scotland, Montrose, who has been reviled for cruelty of disposition, thought not of revenge nor of the "execution of delinquents,"

* Macdonald's two brothers, and his father old Coll, and Montrose's natural brother Henry Graham, had been exchanged before the battle of Kilsyth for some of Argyle's friends.

but of the safety of his friends, and the peaceful settlement of the country. With the sympathy of genius he now addressed himself to that seat of the muses, Hawthornden, where the friend of Ben Johnson was living in retirement, mourning over the troubles of his native land, and the ruin of the monarchy. In the year 1638, while the hero of Kilsyth was yet a Covenantanter, the more experienced Drummond, whose loyalty had from the first been "fancy free," wrote that celebrated remonstrance entitled *Irene*, and by which he hoped the eyes of the nation might be opened to the coming evils. But the temper of the times restrained him from publishing this and other constitutional pieces of a like prophetic nature, the fame of which, however, had gone abroad. If the unhappy activity of the marquis, in his early career, had been one cause of suppressing such loyal lucubrations, he now made amends. From his camp at Bothwell, 28th August 1645, he dates a special protection, addressed to all his officers and soldiers, "that none of them trouble or molest Mr William Drummond of Hawthornden," or aught belonging to him,—and accompanied by this note :—

"SIR,

"We being informed of your good affection to his majesty's service, and that you have written some Pieces vindicating monarchy from all aspersions, and another named *Irene*: These are to desire you to repair to our leaguer, bringing with you, or sending, such papers; that we may give order for putting them to the press, to the contentment of all his majesty's good subjects.

"MONTROSE."

The poet replies, by alluding to the state of the times which had constrained him to suppress his papers, and adds, "Now since, by the mercy of God, in your excellency's victorious arms, the Golden Age is returned,—his majesty's crown re-established,—the many-headed monster nearly quelled,—if

that Piece can do any service at this time, your excellency, so soon as it can be transcribed, shall command it, either to be buried in oblivion, if it deserve, or published to the view of the world. So your excellency, as you have granted me a protection of my fortunes, will be my patron, and protector of my papers, and deign to accept of him, who shall ever continue your excellency's most humble servant,

“ W. DRUMMOND.”

Alas ! ere that essay could be transcribed, the iron age had returned with double rigour, and the throne was destined to fall.*

While Montrose was at Bothwell, two messengers from the king, then at Oxford, appeared in his camp. The one was Andrew Sandilands, who had been educated in England, and was in holy orders. The other was his own much esteemed friend, President Spottiswood, now Secretary of State for Scotland ; and they arrived about the same time though by different roads. The latter had proceeded through Wales, and passed over to the Isle of Man, from whence he landed in Lochaber, came down to Athol, and was conducted by the natives to the banks of the Clyde. He brought with him a commission from the sovereign, dated Hereford, 25th June 1645, appointing Montrose lieutenant-governor and captain-general of Scotland, with power to summon parliaments, and to enjoy all the privileges previously held by Prince Maurice. This deed was in due form presented by the Secretary under the royal standard, and then handed by the marquis to Archibald Primrose, as clerk of council, to be proclaimed to the army ; a ceremony which took place at a grand review on the day before his fatal march to the Borders. He addressed his soldiers in a short and affecting speech, extolling their courage and loyalty, and expressive of the warmth of his feelings towards his gallant followers. Then directing his praises in

* Irene, and Drummond's other tracts, were only first published in 1711, in the folio edition of his works.

particular to Allaster Macdonald, in presence of the whole army, he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, by virtue of the powers of his new commission.* The instructions brought by Spottiswood and Sandilands were to the same effect: namely, that Montrose should immediately form a junction with Roxburgh and Traquair, and march with all expedition to the Tweed, in order to co-operate with his majesty.

At this crisis, the Highlanders as usual applied for the leave they meant to take, of returning to their homes to deposit their spoil, and chant their victories. Macdonald, at his own earnest desire, and with the concurrence of the chiefs, was appointed their captain-general, and pledged himself to bring them back to the standard the moment their presence should be required. Never were their services more requisite than at that very moment; but the marquis had no power over his unpaid soldiery; finding it impossible to detain them, he permitted their departure with a grace which he hoped would encourage them to return. It was, however, the object of the Macdonalds to wage a particular war on their own account in the district of Argyle. Old Coll Keitach was free again with all his sons, and Sir Allaster was now leader of all the loyal clans under the king's commissioner, and, moreover, a knight of great renown. Wishart is of opinion, that when this worthy, in a formal oration, returned thanks to the lord governor for his great condescension, and pledged himself for their speedy return, he had no intention of fulfilling his promise. The event justifies the suspicion. From that moment, when he marched northward at the head of his Highlanders, with a body guard consisting of 120 picked Irish, Montrose and he never met.

* I find among the Montrose papers an original commission from Charles I. to Montrose, dated at Oxford, 13th February 1643, signed by his majesty and his secretary, Sir Edward Walker, and appointing Montrose to be *lieutenant-governor* of Scotland, and *captain-general* of all the forces there. This was the commission which Montrose declined, as he wished to be under Prince Maurice as lieutenant-general. That now brought by Sir Robert Spottiswood was in terms of this original commission.

This shameful desertion (for however plausible the pretext, it was nothing else) of the royal cause by the Gordons and the clansmen, occurred at the very time when the step was most likely to prove fatal. While the marquis occupied the leaguer at Bothwell, his object was to rouse into effective activity the ever timid, and now somewhat damaged loyalty of Home, Roxburgh, and Traquair. He had already immortalized the claymore, and rendered every mountain and glen of the North historic ground; how complete then would have been his triumph, had he succeeded in reviving the ancient spirit of the Prickers of the south, and turned it, also, to the advantage of his sovereign! With this hope he sent the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvy into Dumfries-shire to co-operate with the Earls of Hartfell and Annandale in raising a body of horse, wherewith to march into the counties of Peebles and Roxburgh, and either to induce or compel the wavering noblemen to bring aid to the standard. The name of Douglas was once a talisman on the Borders; but the days of chivalry were gone, and some of the bravest in that quarter being fascinated by the Covenant, were devoted to Argyle. Douglas did his utmost to collect the requisite levies, and drew around him no inconsiderable number of ploughmen and shepherds, who, viewed in the light of cavalry, were no more to be trusted than was the infantry composed of the corpulent burghers of Perth. He then wrote to Montrose, entreating him to repair thither, and by the example of his veterans, and the magic of his own presence, to encourage and confirm these awkward recruits. But the sincerity of Roxburgh, Home, and even Traquair, who all made offers of active service under the royal lieutenant, was so doubtful, that the wisest of his friends cautioned him against rashly trusting to their promised forces. Argyle was now at Berwick, exerting every art to seduce these noblemen, or at least to make them compromise the safety of the victor. Already he had sent for David Leslie to come with all his horse, and redeem the fortunes of the faction in Scotland, from the face of which every vestige of their once mighty armies had now

been swept away. But Montrose had been told by his sovereign to rely upon the Border earls ; and accordingly on the 4th of September he began his ill-fated march towards the Tweed.

Had every soldier deserted him, he would have gone alone. As it was, with but the shadow of his former array, he passed Edinburgh, and marching through the Lothians, encamped at Cranston Kirk, on Saturday the 6th of the month, and appointed Dr Wishart to preach a sermon on the following morning, which he intended as a day of rest for his troops. But before service could begin, Lord Erskine gave him certain information that Leslie, with some thousands of cavalry, was already at Berwick, and he suggested the propriety of a timely retreat. Instead of complying with this counsel, he pressed onwards through the vale of the Gala, until he met his noble friends Douglas and Ogilvy, with their slender levies. At the same time there came to him the courtly and cautious Traquair, with many flattering promises of support, which, perhaps, were never meant to be fulfilled. The earl himself returned to his home, but afterwards sent his son Lord Linton to the standard, at the head of a troop of horse. Montrose marched forward to Kelso in the hope of meeting the Earls of Home and Roxburgh ; but there the tidings reached him that these noblemen had been surprised by a party of Leslie's men, and were prisoners in Berwick. It is of little importance to history whether the failure of all his hopes in that quarter was the consequence of a wavering policy on the part of these nobles, or of the downright treachery with which they are charged by Wishart and Guthry. Certain it is that the covenanting general, after having determined in a council of war to make for the Grampians, and thus place himself betwixt the marquis and his fastnesses, suddenly altered his line of march, and went directly in pursuit of him. It is said, and not without much probability, that Traquair, Home, and Roxburgh, having discovered the unexpected weakness of the royal army, considered the cause hopeless, and thought now only of consulting their own personal safety by a well-timed compromise.

The allegation, that they accomplished their object by means of secretly communicating intelligence to Leslie, is not absolutely proved, and we may hope is untrue. Their conduct, however, produced all the effects of studied treachery, and had very much the appearance of it. While Montrose, now almost hopeless of effecting a junction with the king, was retracing his steps westward, with the view of recruiting in the counties of Nithisdale, Annandale, and Ayr, the covenanting general, apprized of his weak condition, had turned in pursuit of him; and at this crisis a hurried order from Traquair recalled Lord Linton and his troop.

But if Huntly and Aboyne had supported the standard with the determined loyalty of Airly and Ogilvy, the whole race of the Gordons would have followed, the noblemen of the Borders might have been induced to active loyalty, and the person of the king would at least have obtained the protection of his faithful lieutenant, who certainly, under no pretext, could have been induced to take a price for his blood. The defection of those chiefs was keenly felt by Montrose, and probably at his desire was the following letter written to Aboyne, on whose ambiguous conduct it at all events throws some light:—

“MY LORD,

“Though I know all the baits and enticements of the world will not be able to make you do any thing unworthy of yourself, yet, my lord, my constant affection and brotherhood to yourself, and respect to your old honourable family, whereunto new ye have chiefest interest, inforceth me to present to your lordship in your honour that which doth concern your lordship, that knowing of it you may be upon your guard. *Argyle* leaves no winds unfurled to sow dissension among you, and draw your lordship off, and hath ordered a friend of yours to write to that effect to you and your father, by Provost Leslie of Aberdeen. Likewise Hary Mountgomery hath commissions to my lord your father, and your lordship’s self for that end, and is on his journey. I think he be now northward, having got my Lord Drummond’s fine of £30,000. Both Drummond

and your sister * hath sent me word, desiring I should with all expedition show your lordship that your lordship should take some fit opportunity for taking Mountgomery prisoner. As also that Argyle, notwithstanding of any oaths or promises that he may seem to make to you, does intend nothing but your dishonour,—the utter extirpating of all memory of your old family, and, *if it could lie on your hands*, the ruining and betraying of the king's service; and this my Lady Drummond told me before I came out of prison; and, since, she sent me commission to entreat that ye will not be ensnared, for they are striving to draw your lordship off, and others, thinking thereby to turn every man as desperate as themselves. So they are begging grace to themselves, but cannot obtain it; and seeing they see nothing but inevitable ruin before them, they would engage, deeply, innocents with them. I know your lordship's gallantry to be such that I will not presume to go further than faithfully to render up my commission to you. When any thing further worthy your lordship's knowledge occurs, I shall instantly give notice thereof. In the interim I continue your lordship's humble servant,

“OGILVY.”†

The plan which Montrose had laid down for himself, was to clear Scotland of every Covenanter in arms, and afterwards to join the king, whom the gaining of a single battle in England would have enabled to fulfil this nobleman's excellent advice, indicated in the scriptural quotation, “*come thou thyself.*” He had now played *his* part,—he had “conquered from Dan to Beersheba.” Was it his fault then, that, while every battle he gained tended to the recovery of the royal cause, the

* Married to Lord Drummond.

† This important letter I find among the Wodrow manuscripts in the Advocates' Library. It is entitled, “Copy of my Lord Ogilvie's letter to my Lord Aboyne.” The date is not given; but it was obviously written betwixt the 4th of September 1645, when Aboyne left Montrose, and the ensuing 13th of September, which was the day of Philiphaugh, when Ogilvy was again made prisoner.

career of his sovereign, at the same time, should have been a series of false steps and misfortunes! * Had the current of events not run invariably against Charles, that which his lieutenant achieved in the north would at least have sufficed to save his life, if not his throne. When Leslie was hurrying northwards, after the battle of Kilsyth, he paused at Rotherham, with men and horses so fatigued, that, as he himself afterwards declared, they could have made no effectual resistance. The king was within ten miles of him at Doncaster, and at the head of four thousand cavaliers, while three thousand foot, raised by the gentlemen of Yorkshire, were about to join him. He could have annihilated the Scottish general; and had not the impetuous Rupert unfortunately been absent, that blow would in all probability have been struck. Urged on his fate by more timid councils, Charles, when the tidings reached him that the enemy's horse were at hand, instead of seizing that golden opportunity, retreated to Newark, without even waiting for his Yorkshire levies. This false move, at the last hour of his misfortunes in the field, decided the fate of the king, as it did that of Montrose and the kingdom. About three weeks from this period elapsed before Leslie reached Philiphaugh; and the genius of our hero had inevitably led him to anticipate a different result. He was now on the Borders, by the express command of his sovereign, waiting for tidings of his majesty, or Lord Digby. Could his forces have combined with the king's, Huntly no longer would have refused to bring his whole elan to the standard, and rebellion would have been crushed in Scotland. † Montrose knew this so well, that the desertion of his

* Malcolm Laing is pleased to say that Montrose's wars were "waged by banditti." They were the king's subjects, fighting in defence of the throne, under the royal standard as displayed by the king's lieutenant, who was clothed with the king's commission, and acted under the king's nephew.

† The Rev. R. Baillie, in his letter to Spang, dated September 5, 1645, says: "We pray God give wisdom and courage and continue fidelity in our officers, if the king should pursue them [the Scots army] with his large 5000 horse. If the king misken them, and join with

troops was not sufficient to deter him from marching southward. For the same reason the tidings of the enemy's approach did not materially disturb him ; as he concluded that the cavaliers would certainly cross Leslie's march, ere he could pass the Borders. He had even some thoughts of attacking him in person ; and the following letter, from Sir Robert Spottiswood to Lord Digby, found in the president's pocket when taken at Philiphaugh, shows what must have been Montrose's feelings at this time :—

“ MY LORD,

“ We are now arrived *ad columnas Herculis*,* to Tweedside,—dispersed all the king's enemies within this kingdom to several places, some to Ireland, most of them to Berwick,—and had no open enemy more to deal with, *if you had kept David Leslie there*, and not suffered him to come in here, to make head against us of new. It is thought strange here, that *at least you have sent no party after him*, which we expected, although he should not come at all. You little imagine the difficulties my lord marquis hath here to wrestle with. The overcoming of the enemy is the least of them,—he hath more to do with his *seeming friends*. Since I came to him (which was but within these ten days, after much toil and hazard), I have seen much of it. He was forced to dismiss his Highlanders for a season, who *would needs* return home to look to their own affairs. When they were gone, *Aboyne took a caprice*,† and had away with him the greatest strength he had of horse. Notwithstanding whereof he resolved to follow his work, and clear this part of

Goring, he will be large, as strong as Sir Thomas Fairfax ; and if he should beat him, which the Lord God avert, he should in a trice overthrow our affairs ; and if he be beat again, Montrose will not be able to support him.”

* The “ Pillars of Hercules,”—the limits of Montrose's command.

† The caprice most probably was this : His father, Huntly, who, during the whole of Montrose's career of victory, had actually hid himself, from jealousy of his old enemy, could not bear the idea of Montrose's triumphant meeting with his sovereign ; and so he induced his son to withdraw with the most effective of the cavalry.

the kingdom (that was only resting) of the rebels that had fled to Berwick, and kept a bustling here. Besides, he was *invited* hereunto by the Earls of Roxburgh and Home, who, when he was within a dozen miles of them, have rendered their houses and themselves to David Leslie, and are carried in as prisoners to Berwick. Traquair hath been with him, and promised more nor he hath yet performed. All these were great disheartenings to any other but to him, *whom nothing of this kind can amaze*. With the small forces he hath presently with him, he is resolved to pursue David Leslie, and not suffer him to grow stronger. *If you would perform that which you lately promised*, both this kingdom, and the north of England might be soon reduced, and considerable assistance sent from hence to his majesty. However, nothing will be wanting on our parts here. These that are together are both loyal and resolute; only a little encouragement from you (as much to let it be seen that they are not neglected, as for any thing else) would crown the work speedily. This is all I have for the present, but that I am your lordship's most faithful friend,

“ Ro. SPOTISWOOD.

“ *Near to Kelso, Sept. 10th, 1645.*”

Bishop Burnet,—the historian who says of Montrose, “ in his defeat, he took too much care of himself, for he was never willing to expose himself too much,”—has given a very false impression as to his motives at this desperate crisis. That prejudiced churchman having conceived malice against the House of Stuart, and the loyal marquis,* has most severely criticised

* See Montrose and the Covenanters, vol. i. p. 14, for an original letter of Burnet's, written under the influence of his terror for the consequence of his connexion with Lord Russell and the Rye-house plot. It affords a most complete exposure of the dishonest principles upon which he composed the “ History of his own Times,” and deprives that work of all its authenticity, so far as his portraiture of the characters of public men is concerned. His calumny, accusing Montrose of cowardice, was so stupid that his son suppressed the passage in the original edition of the work; and it first appeared in the Oxford edition of 1823, vol. i. p. 67.

the labours of this Scottish hero. He admits that at first he made great progress, but adds, that he laid no lasting foundation,—did not make himself master of the strong places or passes of the kingdom,—had no scheme to fix his conquests,—wasted the estates of his enemies,—was lifted up out of measure after his victory at Kilsyth,—thought his very name carried terror with it,—wrote the king a letter, in which he told him that he had gone over the land, from Dan even to Beersheba; and then, subjoins the prelate, “he prayed the king to come down, in these words, *Come thou and take the city, lest I take it, and it be called by my name.* This letter was writ, but never sent; for he was routed, and his papers taken, before he had despatched the courier. In his defeat, he took too much care of himself; for he was never willing to expose himself too much. When his papers were taken, many letters of the king, and of others at Oxford, were found,” &c.*

I cannot discover that Montrose wrote any such letter to the king after the battle of Kilsyth. That to which Burnet alludes is, most probably, the one written after the battle of Inverlochy; moreover, it was not only sent to his majesty, but received. And that this communication was written in a spirit very different from what the bishop reports, our readers have been enabled to judge for themselves.† Yet from him the loose history has been derived, and adopted even by

* Burnet quotes as his authority Lord Lindsay, Hamilton's brother-in-law, and Montrose's bitter enemy. Oxford edition of Burnet, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

† See before, p. 299. Burnet, when recording his petty calumnies, usually quotes, for his authority, the narration of them to himself by some one else, and that not unfrequently the enemy of the party traduced. It is worthy of remark, however, that Montrose's letter, dated Inverlochy, 3d February 1645, and containing the quotation from Samuel, was printed and commented upon by Dr Welwood in his *Memoirs*, the fourth edition of which appeared in 1702, twelve years before the death of Bishop Burnet. Yet this prelate appears not to have observed it; and neither had Sir Walter Scott, who relies upon Burnet.

Sir Walter Scott,—that, after the battle of Kilsyth, “he wrote to the king, urging him to advance to the northern border, and form a junction with his victorious army, and concluding his request with the words which Joab the lieutenant of King David is recorded in Scripture to have used to the king of Israel; while Montrose was thus urging King Charles, by the brilliant prospects which he held out, to throw himself on his protection, his own army mouldered away and dispersed.”* The accurate version of this matter, however, is far more creditable to our hero.

In the president's letter to Digby, quoted above, he uses the expressions, “if you would perform that which you lately promised.” This nobleman, second Earl of Bristol, so celebrated for the beauty of his person and the loyal chivalry of his character, was the original promoter at court of Montrose's scheme to clear Scotland of all the rebel forces reserved there, and so to weaken or withdraw the covenanting army in England. Clarendon tells us that “the design of the Earls of Montrose and Antrim was wholly managed with the king by Lord Digby.” At this time he was constantly with his majesty. Rushworth, the well-known clerk and partial chronicler of the parliament, records, that, in the month of September 1645, “Montrose *had instructions from the king* to march towards the Tweed, to be ready there to join with a party of horse, which should be sent him out of England.” The royal lieutenant, therefore, instead of vapouring on the Borders because “uplifted beyond measure,” and urging his unwilling master to ruin, had proceeded thither by the express command of that sovereign, who wished if possible to join him in person. And this is farther illustrated by some very interesting letters, to be presently quoted, from Charles himself to his devoted adherent, which have hitherto escaped observation in the Montrose charter-chest. It must be premised, that the king's movements after the battle of Naseby had been altogether influ-

* History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 447, 448.

vanced by his desire to effect a junction with his northern forces; and in the month of August, before the battle of Kilsyth, his majesty had come to the determination of marching directly to Scotland. But most unfortunately he was prevailed upon to alter this resolution, and to content himself with sending expresses to his lieutenant to arrange their meeting. Accordingly, instead of proceeding directly, which would have saved them both, he went to recruit at Doncaster; and even while there, missed a favourable opportunity of intercepting the wearied cavalry of David Leslie. Hence the good president's complaint to Digby, that, while the promised assistance had not come to Montrose, what was more unaccountable, Leslie was allowed to reach his own country without a check. From Doncaster the king retreated to Oxford before the end of August 1645, and from thence came to Ragland castle, the noble seat of the Marquis of Worcester, which, in order to promote his cause, had been well fortified and garrisoned. From this place, while Leslie was on the eve of overwhelming the remnant of the royal army at the Borders, Charles wrote this letter to its devoted commander:—

“ Ragland, 9th September 1645. ”

“ MONTROSE: Not having patience nor time to write in cipher, I must refer you to Digby* for what concerns my business, either as in relation to you, or these southern parts. I shall only mention that which I care not, or, to say better, would be sorry the world did not know,—how much I esteem those real, generous, indeed useful obligations (and without which, in all probability, before this time, I had not been capable to have *acknowledged any*)†, you have put upon me:

* This means a reference to Digby's letters; for he did not attempt to join Montrose until some time after this date.

† That is,—but for Montrose's unparalleled career in Scotland, and the utter destruction of so many covenanting armies there,—his majesty would have been, ere now, overwhelmed by the additional rebel forces from that country. The opinion of Charles as to the value of these services, is more to be trusted than Bishop Burnet's.

But I will not so injure words as to put upon them what they are not capable of; for in this they can but point at that which otherways must be performed; so as assurance of what *shall be* is one of their chief uses; and, indeed, it is no small part of my misfortune, though the more for your glory, that this 'shall be' is yet all my song to you,—and it were inexcusable, if real impossibility were not the just excuse: Assuring you that nothing shall be omitted, at present or hereafter, for your assistance, or that may testify me to be

“ Your most assured, faithful, constant friend,

“ CHARLES R.”*

It was the day after the date of this letter that President Spottiswood wrote his anxious remonstrance to Lord Digby.

Montrose marched from Kelso to Selkirk, on Friday the 12th of September, his mind being at the moment more occupied with transmitting despatches to the king, than with the necessity of providing against a surprise from so experienced an enemy as General Leslie. Wishart confesses that the marquis upon this occasion intrusted to others a duty which it was his usual practice to take upon himself, namely, the placing his horse patrols in the proper quarters, and the sending forth in every direction, scouts upon whose fidelity he could rely. Yet never was his personal superintendence of the business of his camp more requisite than now. Leslie was on the Borders with an army amounting to five or six thousand, composed of the flower of the Scottish cavalry;† while he himself had lost both the Highlanders and the Gordons, the best of his troops. The Ogilvies were only in force sufficient for his body-guard; his Irish infantry were not more than from five to seven hundred strong; and the recent levies were a mob of clowns and degenerate prickers, who scarcely knew how to manage their horses. The weather too conspired against him. The face of the country for miles around was

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

† Rushworth.

enveloped in a dense fog ; and, moreover, the inhabitants of those southern districts were too much under the influence of the Covenant to busy themselves in bringing intelligence to him. To some of his captains he intrusted the important duty of placing sentinels and sending forth the scouts, having meanwhile established his infantry on the left bank of the *Ettrick*, on the plain of *Philiphaugh*, supported by the *Harehead-wood*, which he fondly deemed a protection from a sudden attack of cavalry. With the best of his horse he had taken up his own quarters in the village on the opposite side of the river ; and there, in council with his friends, the *Lords Napier*, *Airly*, and *Crawford*, he was occupied during most of the night, framing despatches to the king, which were to be sent by break of day in charge of a trusty messenger whom he had just procured. As morning drew nigh, uncertain rumours were brought to him, of the approach of an enemy, which he transmitted from time to time to the officers of his guard : by whom the reply was as often made, that all was well.* As day dawned, the scouts were again sent out, who returned declaring that they had scoured the country far and wide, examined every road and by-path, and they "rashly wished damnation to themselves, if an enemy were within ten miles."†

Shrouded by the surrounding gloom, *Leslie* lay that night within four miles of *Selkirk* ; and ere the sun could pierce the fog that so greatly favoured him, he was within half a mile of *Philiphaugh*. When this intelligence reached *Montrose*, he flung himself on the first horse he could find, and, with his staff instantly galloped across the river to the scene of action, where confusion in every quarter indicated the fatal effect of his temporary absence. Not an officer was in his place, scarcely a soldier mounted, when the clang of *Leslie's* trumpets broke through the gloom, and the right wing of the royalists was at

* Bishop Guthrie records, that about midnight *Traquair* "privately called away his son, the *Lord Linton*, and his troop, without giving any notice thereof to *Montrose*."

† *Wishart*.

the same moment sustaining the overwhelming mass of his iron brigades, in full career. Twice were the rebels repulsed with slaughter; but still the royalists never had a chance; for two thousand of the enemy's horse, by an easy detour across the river, coming upon the rear of the little band, already oppressed with numbers, their struggle was now only for life. Montrose's infantry, when promised quarter, threw down their arms, and became defenceless prisoners. He himself, and about thirty cavaliers, for a while engaged in a desperate conflict with his foes, who surrounded him in such dense masses that he gave up the hope of escape, and fought as one who meant to die rather than yield, and to sell his life as dearly as possible. But his friends, especially the Marquis of Douglas and Sir John Dalziel,* implored him to make an effort for his liberty, and to live for better fortune. At last, while the assailants were for a moment drawn aside by their desire to plunder the baggage, he and those around him cut their way in a desperate charge, and went off, pursued by a party of horse. Captain Bruce, and two cornets, each bearing a standard, led the pursuit; but instead of making a captive of the loyal chief, they became his prisoners. He treated them with lenity, and after a while dismissed them upon their promise, that an equal number of the same rank on the other side should also be set at liberty. Such pledges of honour, however, the leaders of the Covenant were not in the habit of redeeming.

Comparatively few fell in the struggle at Philiphaugh, and scarcely any in the flight. The principal slaughter was of defenceless and unresisting prisoners, after terms had been asked and promised. The main body of the Irish had betaken themselves to an enclosure on an eminence, which, says Guthry, "they maintained, until Stuart the adjutant, being amongst them, procured quarter for them from David Leslie; whereupon they delivered up their arms, and came forth to a plain

* Brother to the Earl of Carnwath, who in like manner led Charles off the field of Naseby, saying, "Will ye go upon your death?"

field, as they were directed. But then did the churchmen quarrel [complain] that quarter should be given to such wretches as they, and declared it to be an act of most sinful impiety to spare them, wherein divers of the noblemen complied with the clergy; and so they found out a distinction, whereby to bring David Leslie fairly off, and this it was, that quarter was only meant to Stuart the adjutant himself, but not to his company: After which, having delivered the adjutant to Middleton to be his prisoner, the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces." The picture is awfully darkened by the fact, that from the Bible itself these ministers of blood enforced such atrocities: "Thine eye shalt not pity, and thou shalt not spare,"—and, "What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in my ears, and the lowing of the oxen,"—were the sacred texts by which, upon this and some other occasions, the preachers diverted from defenceless prisoners the rude mercies of soldiers already weary of slaughter!*

Unhappily, after extricating themselves from the fight, the Earl of Hartfell, the Lords Drummond and Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, William Murray brother to the Earl of Tullibardine, Alexander Ogilvy younger of Innerquharie, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Mr Andrew Guthrie son to the Bishop of Murray, all missed their way, and being taken by the country people, were delivered into the hands of their enemies. Colonel O'Kyan and Major Lachlin, both greatly endeared to their leader by their gallantry and fidelity, were reserved from the massacre inflicted on their soldiers for a more ignominious execution. Those who cut their way along

* It is painful to record this; but every historian who has examined the point finds no room to doubt it. Moreover, it coincides too accurately with what may be gathered of the dispositions of the kirk-militant, even from Baillie's own letters and journals. A complete edition of this most severe record against the covenanting cause is now in preparation for the Bannatyne Club.

with Montrose were the Marquis of Douglas, Lord Napier (though he declared himself to be "ould, and not fit for fighting"), his son, the Lords Erskine and Fleming, Sir John Dalziel, and a few others of minor distinction. They went up the Yarrow, and across the Minch-moor, overtaking in their progress a body of their own cavalry who had quitted the field before them. Sixteen miles from the scene of his disaster the marquis first drew bridle, at the mansion of Traquair, where he asked to see the earl and his son; but, adds Wishart, "they were both denied to be at home, though some gentlemen of honour and credit affirmed they were both in the house."* At sunset the fugitives reached the town of Peebles, and rested a few hours; but by break of day they had crossed the Clyde at a ford to which they were conducted by Sir John Dalziel, and there, to the great joy of all, the Earls of Crawford and Airly joined them. These noblemen had escaped by a different road, and were accompanied by two hundred horsemen.

Both of the royal standards were singularly preserved. William Hay,† brother to the Earl of Kinnoull, carried the one assigned to the horse, an honour to which he had been preferred after the battle of Alford, where the former cornet, a younger son of the Earl of Morton, had been severely wounded. Hay made his escape to England, and lay concealed until the Borders were somewhat quiet, when he travelled in

* He adds this anecdote: "Traquair had the effrontery openly to congratulate the Covenanters upon their victory; and, with a petulant and derisive sneer, to observe, that now at length it appeared that Montrose and the king's forces could be defeated in Scotland; a behaviour so shocking, that even his own daughter, the Countess of Queensberry, checked him for it as far as filial modesty would permit." The author of a sarcastic letter, addressed to Traquair's great grandson in 1747, gives this account of his death: "Great pity it was that a nobleman of such *disinterestedness* should have been deserted by the world, and his own son, to such a degree as to be left to die in the fields for want of the common necessities of life, in the heart of his own estate, and under the eyes of his own tenants."

† The same Mr Hay, probably, who is mentioned (p. 301) by Montrose in his letter from Inverlochy, which he carried to the king.

disguise to the north, and had the pleasure of restoring his charge to Montrose himself. The standard of the foot was saved by a brave Irish soldier, who, with great presence of mind, amid the universal consternation which prevailed, stripped it from the staff, and wrapt it round his body ; in which guise, and (adds Wishart) naked enough as to the rest of his person, he forced his way sword in hand through the enemy. That same night he brought it to his general, who rewarded his valour by advancing him to be one of his body-guard, and consigned the banner to his keeping.

It was some time before accurate intelligence of this disaster reached the king. While his majesty was at Ragland, and a few days after the date of that letter to Montrose which has been already quoted, he learnt that his nephew Rupert, who had lately declared that he would keep Bristol against Fairfax, at least for the space of four months, unless there were a mutiny, had yielded it without a struggle. Upon this sad news, which had nearly driven the monarch to distraction, he departed to Hereford. The bad fortune which thus pursued Charles, while it rendered the victories in Scotland unavailing, endeared still more to him the devotion of his champion there. His letters to the rash and thoughtless Rupert form a striking contrast to those he wrote about the same time to Montrose. To the former, in a letter dated Hereford, 14th September 1645, he says, "The loss of Bristol is the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me ; for what is to be done, after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action." Again his heart impelled him to cross the Borders, and from Hereford he now resolved to march to Worcester, and by that way to proceed directly into the north. But he was turned in his route by the intervention of the rebels, and advised to proceed through North Wales to Chester, and from thence through Lancashire and Cumberland, to join Montrose on the Tweed. Accordingly, "through very unpleasant ways"

he came to Chester with his cavaliers,—brave hearts, high blood, and fine names, that never gained a battle for their heroic sovereign, who was now “hunted like a partridge on the mountains.” The Earl of Litchfield and Lord Gerrard commanded his guards, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale was at the head of the rest of his fine body of horse. At Chester he was forced into a battle with the rebels under Pointz. Sir Marmaduke, with the usual gallantry and fortune of his party, charged successfully at first, and was routed in the end. The royal guard were next engaged. They too repulsed the enemy; but were themselves thrown into confusion by the disordered troops of Langdale, and seeking safety in flight, they left the young Earl of Litchfield dead on the field. This fresh disaster once more deterred the king from his northern expedition. From Chester he returned, by the way he had come, to Dan-high castle in North Wales, attended with only 500 horse. This happened on the 24th of September; and his majesty was not yet aware of the fatal effect of having suffered David Leslie to escape from him at Rotheram. While at Chester, and before his engagement with the parliamentary forces, there came, says Lord Digby (in his letter to the Marquis of Ormond, dated 26th September), “letters to Chester out of Lancashire, that great forces were come from the Marquis of Montrose, as far as Penrith in Westmoreland, under the command of the Earl of Crawford and the Lord Ogilvy, and that there having faced David Leslie’s horse, 1000 of them revolted from them, and charged their fellows with the Lord Ogilvy; whereupon David Leslie was routed, and forced to retire with what remained to the borders of Lancashire. We do not, as yet, build upon the certainty of this; but we are much confirmed in it by the confession of a committee-man newly taken, who acknowledges Montrose’s forces so far advanced, and that they have fought with David Leslie, though he do not confess the victory.” Digby proceeds to say, that however this may be, he thinks every faithful servant of his majesty will advise his marching to Scotland

without delay, in order that his person at least may be under the protection of Montrose ; but, he adds, how to get there with security is now the difficulty.*

Cheered by this false intelligence, Charles went to Newark with the renewed determination to join his successful lieutenant ; and from thence passing on to Welbeck, he called a council of war, where he declared his resolution to march into Scotland. As the officers were rising from this deliberation, to give their orders, some one knocked at the door. It proved to be a trumpeter formerly sent from Cardiff to the Earl of Leven, who had carried the royal messenger along with him as far as Berwick. " And what news of the Marquis of Montrose !" said the king. " The last I heard of him," replied the messenger, " was, that he had retreated to Stirling, and was going northward ; David Lealie is in Lothian, on this side of Edinburgh, and the Scottish army lays between Northallerton and Newcastle." This unexpected intelligence caused even Lord Digby to exclaim, " Then it is by no means fit that his majesty advance ; we must fall back upon Newark." Next morning, at the rendezvous of the troops, who had rallied since the rout at Chester, the king declared, that however unfit it might be considered for himself to go northwards, he thought it very necessary that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should march that way with the horse under his command, and endeavour to join Montrose. " And having said so, his majesty looked upon Sir Marmaduke."† The cavalier assented most cheerfully, but made it his particular suit, that the Lord Digby might command the expedition in chief. This sudden resolve was immediately acted upon. A commission was prepared, constituting his lordship lieutenant-general of the royal forces to the north

* Carte's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 90. A great part of this interesting letter is still in cipher ; and from the few words made out, it appears the ciphered sentences are all in reference to the project of joining Montrose.

† Clarendon.

of the Trent; and with this he departed, followed by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Hutton, high-sheriff of Yorkshire, the Earls of Carnwath and Nithisdale, and several Scottish gentlemen, at the head of 1500 horse. Having thus deprived himself of his best troops, and some of his dearest friends, as a last attempt to assist Montrose, the king, with a heavy heart, retraced his steps to Newark. This took place on the 15th of October 1645; and before the 26th of that month, Digby had reached Dumfries with the most of his horse, having suffered, however, a defeat by the way (when Sir Richard Hutton was killed), with the loss of all his baggage and papers, which fell into the hands of the rebels. At Dumfries, "neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where Montrose was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the Scottish army upon the Borders, —in the highest despair, that lord, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the two earls, and most of the other officers, embarked for the Isle of Man, and shortly after for Ireland, all the troops being left by them to shift for themselves. Thus, those 1500 horse which marched northward, within very few days were brought to nothing, and the generalship of Lord Digby to an end."*

Meanwhile Charles lingered for tidings at Newark, guarded by eight hundred cavalry, and some dispirited infantry under Lord Gerrard. But not a gleam of good fortune or comfort was vouchsafed to him. When the unfavourable news of Digby's expedition arrived, he had no other resource left

* Clarendon.—Sir Philip Warwick thus records the character of Lord Digby: "Lord Digby was indeed a well-accomplished gentleman, and of great parts, natural and acquired, and was now secretary of state, and was as gallant with his sword as eminent with his tongue or pen; but he had likewise so much of a romantic spirit, and of such super-refined policies, that, as the Lord Bacon says, 'there are some things which have more wonder in them than worth;' so as these eminences made him never prosperous, either to himself or to his master."—Mem. p. 308.

for his personal safety, than to steal, by night marches, to Worcester or Oxford. Before he was able to quit Newark the severest pang was inflicted upon his generous and affectionate heart, by the mutinous conduct of his nephews Rupert and Maurice. Clarendon, who minutely describes this melancholy scene, very discreditable to the princes, adds, that it "so provoked his majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded them to depart from his presence, and to come no more into it; and this, with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that they appeared no less confounded, and departed the room, ashamed of what they had done." With hopes thus crushed, affections wounded, but a spirit unbroken though resigned, Charles ordered his secret march from Newark, on Monday the 3d of November. He had granted passes to his ungrateful relatives and their company, to depart from him and go beyond seas; and he particularly directed that they should know nothing of his present movements. Between four and five hundred horse now constituted the army of the king. These were assembled in the market-place at ten o'clock; and about an hour before midnight, they commenced their march, his majesty in the centre, at the head of his own troop; nor did he pause until the evening of the next day, when exhaustion compelled him to halt during the space of four hours, in a village within eight miles of Northampton. In this manner and narrowly escaping his pursuers, he again reached Oxford.

When we consider the circumstances now shortly traced, the following letter becomes doubly interesting. By this time Charles knew from Montrose himself (in a letter to Digby, which the king opened) that he was no longer successful. His hopes of ever meeting with him again on earth (as indeed he never did) must have been very slender; but he the more intensely felt what he owed to that gallant spirit, though all had proved in vain; and at the very time when he ordered from his presence his sister's sons, and was oppressed

with toil and anxiety,* on the night of the 3d of November, the forlorn monarch thus wrote to Montrose :

“ *Newark, 3. November 1645.*

“ MONTROSE,—As it hath been none of my least afflictions, nor misfortunes, that you have had hitherto no assistance from me,—so I conjure you to believe that nothing but impossibility hath been the cause of it,—witness my coming hither (not without some difficulty), being *only for that end*,—and, when I saw *that* could not do, the parting with 1500 horse, under the command of Digby, to send unto you : And though the success (which I have here ever since expected, and that with some inconvenience to my other affairs) hath not been according to my wishes, yet that, nor nothing else, shall discourage me from seeking and laying hold upon all occasions to assist you ; it being the least part of that kindness I owe you, for the eminent fidelity and generosity you have showed in my service : And be assured that your less prosperous fortune is so far from lessening my estimation of you, that it will rather cause my affection to *kythe the cleerlier*† to you ; for, by the grace of God, no hardness of condition shall ever make me shake in my friendship towards you, in despite of all the specious shows of cunning, base propositions, against which, if there were nothing else, your letter to Digby, of the 24th of September (which I have opened and read) is to me a sufficient antidote.‡ I will now say no more,

* Sir Philip Warwick mentions, that while the king was on this march, “the captain-lieutenant of his own troop, one Turbervail, a good, stout, plain, downright, soldierly gentleman, under whom I trooped for some time, was forced, with a party of his men, to engage the enemy who were in pursuit of the king ; and in this engagement the captain lost his life, as well as some others of his common troopers.”—Mem. p. 321.

† *i. e.* Manifest itself the more clearly.

‡ This must have contained Montrose’s account of his disaster at Phliphpaugh, its causes, and how he proposed to remedy it. I find no other notice, not even in Wishart, of the interesting document

but that, upon all occasions and in all fortunes, you shall ever find me

“ Your most assured, faithful, constant friend,

“ CHARLES R.

“ For the present state of my affairs, I refer you to Jack Ashburnham.”*

here alluded to. The king's letter had remained unnoticed in the Montrose charter-chest until now. Montrose's letter, referred to by his majesty, is dated on the very day of his engagement and defeat at Chester. Clarendon mentions, that one circumstance, in the mutinous behaviour of the princes and Lord Gerrard at Newark, was their offering to denounce the absent Digby as a traitor. Probably the marquis had been included in their jealousy and insults at the time, which would account for the excited expressions in the king's letter.

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

CHAPTER XII.

Montrose's Proceedings after his Escape from Philiphaugh—His Reception at Blair-Athol—Crosses the Grampians and proceeds to Braemar—Macdonald fails to return to the Standard—Jealousy of Huntly and capricious Conduct of Aboyne—Message from the King requiring Montrose to join Lord Digby—Cruel Conduct of the covenanting Government—Massacre of the Irish Camp-followers—O'Kyan and Lachlin executed—Montrose's Anxiety to save his Friends—Sir Robert Spottiswood's Defence—Sir William Rollock executed—Cause of Argyle's special Enmity to him—Young Ogilvy of Innerquharity and Sir William Nisbet executed—The Rev. David Dickson's Remark on the Occasion—Montrose recrosses the Grampians, and threatens the covenanting Committees sitting at Glasgow—Pause in the Executions of Prisoners—Montrose hurries back to the North, and again endeavours to conciliate Huntly—Covenanting Parliament meets at St Andrews—The Church most earnest for the Death of the remaining Prisoners—Speech of the Procurator—Sir Robert Spottiswood, Nathaniel Gordon, and other Royalists executed—Spottiswood's Letter to Montrose—Montrose refuses to retaliate on the Prisoners within his Power—Lord Ogilvy effects his Escape—Montrose's Proceedings in the North—Conduct of Huntly—The King takes Refuge with the Scots Army—In Hopes of being protected by Montrose—Is compelled to desire Montrose to disband his Troops and quit the Country—The King's Letters on the Subject—Montrose accepts Conditions from Middleton and disbands his Followers—The Church offended—Design to seize the Person of Montrose—He Escapes—Fate of his Family and Friends—The Lord Advocate sings the Twenty-third Psalm, and dies.

UNLIKE Lord Digby, or indeed any man of his times, the first impulse of Montrose, after he had extricated himself from the field of Philiphaugh, was to proceed at once to his original recruiting ground in Athol, and commence his exertions anew.

On his way he despatched Douglas and Airly with a party of horse into Angus, and Erskine into Mar, to levy forces. Sir John Dalziel he sent on a like mission to his relative Carnegy, while he himself passed with a slender guard by the foot of the Perthshire hills towards the source of the Tay. To Sir Allaster Macdonald he conveyed his earnest entreaties, that, according to promise, he would be with the royal standard on the day appointed. To Aboyne he not only wrote several letters, but employed various mutual friends to wait upon him, and bring him to a sense of his duty. About the end of September and commencement of the following month he was at Blair-Athol, where he found the inhabitants busied with their harvest, and exerting themselves to repair the destruction occasioned by the recent campaigns. Yet his presence was sufficient to bring four hundred good soldiers to his banner, who cheerfully agreed to accompany him further north, and he was assured that the whole strength of the district would be at his command when he returned, on his way to invade the Lowlands. Before the 13th of October he had crossed the Grampians, and established himself at the Castleton of Braemar, where he was kept in a state of constant fatigue and mental suffering, vainly exerting himself to reclaim Macdonald and the Gordons. Huntly had become more and more impracticable, and that fantastic nobleman even derived, from the recent disaster, a ridiculous hope of being himself able to save the king. Under this influence Aboyne occasionally joined Montrose, and again deserted him, in the most capricious manner; and this annoyance was increased, on the one hand, by messages from the king, requiring him to make all haste to join Lord Digby on the Borders,—and, on the other, by the dreadful accounts he received of the massacre of his followers and the impending fate of his dearest friends. His greatest anxiety now was to collect such a force as would enable him to save the lives of those gallant noblemen and gentlemen who had fallen into the hands of the covenanting government. The savage and cold-blooded practices of executing prisoners of war, who had obtained quarter on the field of

battle, had not been practised by the rebels in England, and indeed was peculiar to that religious sect among the Scotch, now unfortunately in the ascendant, who searched the Scriptures for appropriate texts to justify their murders.* There was little hope of the divine attributes of charity and mercy ever entering the hearts of those Presbyterians, who made the cry for blood a part of their holy vocation, and laboriously inculcated that cruelty to man was obedience to the will of God. That no mercy would be shown to his friends, Montrose augured from what had already passed. His two gallant Irish

* Among the Cumbernauld Papers there are "Informatione for Sir Robert Spotswood," containing the legal argument vainly urged to save his life. In this it is stated, that, "he had been taken prisoner in the field of Philiphaugh, by an officer of the Earl of Lanerick's, of whom he had first quarters given him, and thereafter was brought to the earl himself, who ratified the same by his humane and courteous carriage to him, whereby he had reason to think himself secured of his life." "This unhappy war amongst us being occasioned principally out of respect to the English parliament, it would seem that their example should be a strong inducement to use the same moderations towards our prisoners which they do towards theirs; and it cannot be instanced that ever any prisoner, during these wars in England, have been drawn in question of his life for siding with either party." The Rev. Robert Baillie, not the most savage of his sect (although Montrose's merciful treatment of Aberdeen had met with his decided disapprobation), saw the want of precedent for the contemplated executions. In his letter to Spang, dated 17th October 1645, he says: "It is thought Johnston [Hartfell], Ogilvy, Sir John Hay, Spottiswood, and *divers others prisoners*, will lose their heads; that *once* some justice may be done on some for example; albeit to this day no man in England has been executed for bearing arms against the parliament." The good President, aware that Scripture was made the argument for his destruction, also urged in his defence, "Scripture itself confirmeth this law and practice [of quarter] most clearly, 2 Kings, chap. 6, where the Syrians being stricken blind, and brought captives by Elisha to the King of Israel within Samaria, the king inquires at the prophet whether he should smite them or not, who answered *negative*, 'Would thou smite those whom thou takest captives with thy sword and thy bow in the field? Therefore far less is it lawful to kill them whom thou hast gotten into thy power by such a stratagem.'" But to such texts the covenanting clergy were disposed to pay little attention.

officers, O'Kyan and Lachlin, were hanged at Edinburgh the moment they arrived. He learnt, also, that besides the massacre of the prisoners at Philiphaugh, many of the unfortunate followers of his camp had been, some time afterwards, condemned to be cast over a high bridge and so destroyed, though their crime was no other than the misfortune of being the wives and families of the Irish soldiers. In one day eighty women and children, some being infants at the mother's breast, suffered in this manner.* Upon the 28th of October, Sir William Rollock, the constant attendant of Montrose, was led out to execution, having specially incurred the enmity of Argyle, on account of an incident now to be mentioned. When, after the battle of Aberdeen, this gallant gentleman was returning from his mission to the king, he fell into the hands of the Dictator, and would have shared the fate of James Small, had he not pretended to yield to the offer of life and promise of rewards, which were to be the price of his *assassinating Montrose*. To his general, on returning, he disclosed the fact, and warned him to beware of the nefarious devices employed against him. Such is the anecdote circumstantially published by Dr Wishart, in the lifetime and under the auspices of the marquis himself; and it obtains strong confirmation from the parliamentary record of the murder of Kilpont. On the following day, the eldest son of Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity was in like manner beheaded. Bishop Guthry tells us that this interesting victim "was but a boy of scarce eighteen years of age, lately come from the schools; and upon that occasion it was, that Mr David Dickson said, the 'work goes bonnily on,' which passed afterwards into a proverb."† Here, too, the finger of

* See Montrose and the Covenanters, vol. ii. p. 476.

† Thomas Sydserf (or St. Serf) also notices this expression in his account of the honours bestowed, in 1661, upon the remains of Montrose. "Nay, even some of those whose profession should have preached *mercy*, belched out that the 'Good work went bonnily on,' when the scaffold, or rather *shambles*, at the Cross of Edinburgh, for the space of six weeks, was daily smoking with the blood of the most valiant and loyal subjects." The reproof is as just as the picture is horrible.

Argyle is visible, for he was at deadly feud with the Ogilvies. On the same scaffold perished Sir William Nisbet, who had for some time worthily commanded a regiment of the royalists in England. These gentlemen met their fate with the utmost magnanimity.

When he heard of their execution, Montrose, with about twelve hundred foot and three hundred horse, hurried from the north into the Lennox, and the neighbourhood of Glasgow, where the committees were guarded by three thousand of Leslie's cavalry. For the space of nearly a month he endeavoured to provoke his antagonist to a battle, and daily threatened the town in the most daring manner. His enemies were overawed, and paused in their vengeance against the prisoners; and if Aboyne and Macdonald had been with him, some of this butchery might have been prevented. About the 19th of November, hoping to rouse or conciliate Huntly, he marched back to Athol, struggling through the deep snow which covered the hills of Menteith and Stratherne, in a severer winter than the former, and with a heavier heart. Immediately thereafter the parliament met at St Andrews, into the castle of which all his friends had been removed, with the exception of the Adjutant Stuart, who was so fortunate as to make his escape. The whole influence of Argyle and the churchmen was now directed to obtain the blood of these distinguished prisoners. Even without the testimony of Wishart and Guthry, the notes of that parliament, left in manuscript by the covenanting Lord Lyon, are sufficient to prove a backwardness on the part of the Estates to bring them to the scaffold, and a determination on the part of the assembly that there should be no mercy. He has noted the texts of the various clergymen who preached to them, and the speech of Archibald Johnston, the Procurator of the Kirk. Mr Robert Blair, minister of St Andrews, opened that session with a sermon on the ci. Psalm, the last verse of which is,—“I will early destroy all the wicked of the land, that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord.” On the same

day, immediately after calling the roll, "Sir Archibald Johnston had a long harangue to the house, entreating them to unity amongst themselves, to lay all private respects and interest aside, and to *do justice* on delinquents and malignants; showing that their *delaying formerly* had provoked God's two great servants against them, the sword and pestilence, who had ploughed up the land with deep furrows; he showed that the massacre of Kilsyth was never to be forgotten, and that God, who was the just judge of the world, would not but judge righteously, and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood, which lay before his throne crying for a vengeance on these blood-thirsty rebels, the butchers of so many innocent souls."* And, in order to ensure the "unity amongst themselves" which he desiderated, the same eloquent speaker urged a strict scrutiny into the sentiments of the members of that house, which he compared to "Noah's ark, which had in it both foul and clean creatures." Upon the 4th of December the noblemen and gentlemen in the castle of St Andrews petitioned, "that they may be proceeded against *not by a committee*, but that they may be judged either by their peers, the justice-general, or before the whole parliament." It seems that in this just and constitutional petition, which of course was disregarded, they had specially objected to the interference of the Procurator of the Church, in the criminal processes raised against them. Upon the 5th of December "a remonstrance from the Commissioners of the General Assembly to the High Court of Parliament, for justice upon delinquents and malignants who have shed the blood of their brethren," was read in the house; and at the same time four petitions, from the provincial synods of the most fanatical counties, were presented by about two hundred individuals. Lord Lindsay, president of the parliament, replied: "That the parliament took their *modest* petitions

* The "innocent souls" here alluded to are those of the army of the Covenant who fell at Kilsyth in the fight and flight. Montrose throughout all his campaigns treated his prisoners with kindness and courtesy.

and *seasonable* remonstrances very kindly, and rendered them hearty thanks, and willed them to be confident that with all alacrity and diligence they would go about and proceed in answering the expectation of all their reasonable desires ; as they might themselves perceive in their procedure hitherto ; and withal he entreated them, in the name of the House, that they would be earnest with God, to implore and beg his blessing to assist and *sacourage* them to the performance of what they demanded ; he showed them also that the House had appointed two of *each* Estate to draw an answer to them in writing, and their petitions and remonstrances to be *record to posterity*."

Under this influence, covered by the specious gloss of religious feeling, the tragedy proceeded. Upon the 23d of December, all who yet survived of the soldiers and followers of the Irish regiments were by this order disposed of : " The House ordains the Irish prisoners taken at and after Philiphaugh, in all the prisons of the kingdom, especially in the prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbartane, and Perth, to be executed without any assize or process, conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms past in act." Lord Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Nathaniel Gordon, William Murray, and Andrew Guthrie, maintained their innocence, and pleaded, moreover, that they had been taken on quarter asked and obtained. After a debate of three hours this defence was repelled ; and upon the 16th of January, they were, by a plurality of votes, condemned to be beheaded at the cross of St Andrews, on the following Tuesday. The four commoners died with the Christian heroism that became them ; but we can only pause upon the demeanour of the excellent president. In vain had he urged the plea that he acted under the orders of his sovereign, and that when taken he had been expressly promised his life. The principal crimes libelled against him were the having " purchased by pretended ways " the office of secretary of state without the consent of parliament ; and that as such he had docketed Montrose's commission, and carried it to him in

person, by command of the king. In short, when *Lamerick* had betrayed his sovereign, this excellent man had been taken into his place. Two words comprehend the offences for which he died,—integrity and loyalty. He appreciated and loved his devoted friend, as appears from the communication to Lord Digby, already quoted. Dated on the 19th of January 1646, the eve of his execution, the last letter he ever wrote was addressed “For the Lord Marquis of Montrose his Excellence.”

“MY NOBLE LORD,—You will be pleased to accept this last tribute of my service,—this people having condemned me to die for my loyalty to his majesty, and the respect I am known to carry towards your excellence, which, I believe, hath been the greater cause, of the two, of my undoing. Always, I hope, by the assistance of God’s grace, to do more good to the king’s cause, and to the advancement of the service your excellence hath in hand, by my death, than perhaps otherwise I could have done, being living. For [notwithstanding] all the rubs and discouragements I perceive your excellence hath had of late, I trust you will not be disheartened to go on, and crown that work you did so gloriously begin, and had achieved so happily if you had not been deserted in the nick. In the end God will surely set up again his own anointed, and, as I have been confident from the beginning, make your excellence a prime instrument of it. One thing I most humbly recommend to your excellence, that, *as you have done always hitherto*, so you will continue by fair and gentle carriage to gain the people’s affection to their prince, rather than to imitate the barbarous inhumanity of your adversaries, although they give your excellence too great provocations to follow their example. ¶ “Now for my last request. In hope that the poor service I could do hath been acceptable to your excellence, let me be bold to recommend the care of my orphans to you, that when God shall be pleased to settle his majesty in peace, your excellence will be a remembrancer to him in their behalf, as also in behalf of my brother’s house, that hath been, and is, mightily

oppressed for the same respect. Thus being forced to part with your excellence, as I lived, so I die, your excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

“ RO. SPOTISWOOD.”

The calm and Christian spirit of this affecting letter, betokens a mind at peace even with his murderers, and shows that the bitterness of death had already passed from him. Notwithstanding the usual attempts of the covenanting clergy, who haunted him on the scaffold, he preserved to the last the dignity of a hero and the temper of a saint. Nor was the commander to whom he wrote, unmindful of his merciful appeal. Sydeserf, in the dedication to the second marquis formerly quoted, records this fact: “ Nay, his inexpressibly malicious enemies found that Montrose's mercy transcended their malice. When those brave persons, after quarter given, were butchered at St Andrews, he refused to retaliate on the prisoners in his power, saying, their barbarity was to him no example, and if the meanest corporal in his army should give quarter to their general, it should be strictly and religiously observed.” Dr Wishart refers to the same fact, and declares that Montrose was advised and even importuned to retaliate upon some within his power. But he rejected the proposition with abhorrence. “ Let them,” he said, “ set a price upon our heads—let them employ assassins to destroy us,—let them break faith, and be as wicked as they can—yet shall that never induce us to forsake the brighter paths of virtue, or to strive to outdo them in such barbarous deeds.”

The two noblemen, Hartfell and Ogilvy, both narrowly escaped the block. For the blood of the latter Argyle thirsted ; but the Hamiltons were inclined to save him, and, it is said, were privy to his escape. On the pretext that he was ill, and through the interest of his relatives Lanerick and Lindsay, his wife, mother, and sister were permitted to visit him in prison. The guards having withdrawn from the chamber, Ogilvy dressed himself in his sister's clothes, while she, putting on his nightcap,

took his place in bed. At eight o'clock the ladies were heard taking leave of the sufferer. They were ushered out by torch light, and his lordship reached without detection the horses provided for him. It required the whole power of the Hamiltons to save these noble ladies from the wrath of Argyle, when the stratagem was discovered. The Earl of Hartfell, on the other hand, was hated by that party, and it is said that to annoy them Argyle obtained a pardon for him,—a species of retaliation in which he did not often indulge.

During these cruel transactions Montrose was occupied with his fruitless exertions to conciliate Huntly. But every proposal he made,—though entitled by virtue of the royal commission to command what he invariably entreated as a favour,—was disdainfully rejected by the chief of the Gordons. Our hero, who to the impetuous spirit of a warrior added the temper of a philosopher, ceased not in his endeavours to gain the vacillating loyalist. Failing of success in all the efforts he made through the medium of others, he determined to try the effect of a personal expostulation. Taking with him only a few attendants, he rode in the night to Gordon castle, where he arrived early in the morning, and surprised him into a private conference. The courteous forbearance of the marquis's manner, and his eloquent expostulation, seemed to effect what hitherto had been tried in vain ; and when he rode back to his leaguer, it was in the firm belief that Huntly had banished every shade of jealousy from his mind, and would now effectually co-operate. But no sooner had he departed than the other feebly attempted an independent war, in virtue of his old commission, against the enemies of the king in Scotland. The miserable result will appear in the sequel.

Upon the 27th of April 1646, King Charles, accompanied by Ashburnham and Hudson, set out on his perilous expedition to seek protection from the Scottish army at Newark, under old Leven. The motives which induced him to take this step, will be sufficiently explained by his letter to Montrose, written a few days before he left Oxford :—

" MONTROSE,—Having, upon the engagement of the French king, and queen regent, made an agreement to join with my Scots subjects now before Newark, and being resolved upon the first opportunity to put myself into that army,—they being *reciprocally engaged*, by the intervention of Mons. de Montreuil, the said king's Resident, now in the said army, to join with me *and my forces*, and to assist me in the procuring a happy peace,—I have thought it necessary to acquaint you herewith (being here so close begirt as without much hazard and difficulty I cannot suddenly break from hence to come to them), desiring you, if you shall find by the said De Montreuil, that my Scots army have really declared for me, and that you be satisfied by him that there is by them [not only] an *Amnestia* of all that hath been done by you, and those who have adhered unto me, but very hearty, sincere, friendly and honourable resolutions in them for *whatsoever concerns your person and party*,—that then you take them by the hand, and use all possible diligence to unite your forces with theirs for the advancement of my service, as if I were there in person ; and I doubt not but you, being joined, will be able to relieve me here, in case I shall not find any possible means to come to you, which shall be still endeavoured with all earnestness by yours,

" CHARLES R.*

" 18th April 1646."

* " A copy, by Mr Edgman." Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 224. An interesting but melancholy memorandum, thus indorsed by the Secretary Nicholas,—“ A note written with the king's own pen concerning his going to the Scots,”—is among the Evelyn Papers : “ Freedom in conscience and honour, and security for all those that shall come with me ; and, in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set down at such of my garrisons as I shall name to them ; which condition I hope not to put them too, for I shall not differ with them about ecclesiastical businesses, which they shall make appear to me not to be against my conscience ; and for other matters, I expect no difference, and in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two queens. And before I take my journey, I must send to the Marquis of Montrose, to advertise him upon what conditions I come to the Scots' army, *that he may be admitted forthwith into our conjunction and instantly march up to us.*”

The deluded king reached the camp of the Covenanters on the 5th of May ; and Sir James Turner, who was present, affords a graphic view of the melancholy scene. " In the summer of 1646, the king's fate driving him on to his near approaching end, he cast himself in the Scots' arms at Newark. There did Earl Lothian, as President of the Committee, to his eternal reproach, imperiously require his majesty (before he had either drunk, refreshed, or reposed himself), to command my Lord Bellasis to deliver up Newark to the parliament's forces, to sign the Covenant, and to command James Graham,—for so he called Great Montrose,—to lay down arms ; all which the king stoutly refused, telling him, that *he who had made him an earl, had made James Graham a marquis.*"

But the ill-fated Charles was ere long compelled, by the traitors whom he had so rashly trusted, to forego his champion. While Montrose was still exerting all his energies to overcome the jealousy of Huntly, and to rouse the well-affected in Scotland, on the last day of May 1646, the following letter reached him in the north :

" MONTROSE,—I am *in such a condition* as is much fitter for relation than writing ; wherefore I refer you to this trusty bearer, Robin Car, for the reasons and manner of my coming to this army ; as also, *what my treatment hath been since I came*, and my resolutions upon my whole business. This shall, therefore, only give you positive commands, and tell you real truths, leaving the *why* of all to this bearer. You must disband your forces, and go into France, where you shall receive my further directions. This at first may justly startle you, but I assure you that if, for the present, I should offer to do more for you, I could not do so much, and that you shall always find me your most assured, constant, real, and faithful friend,

" CHARLES R.

" *Newcastle, May 19, 1646.*"*

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

Montrose was indeed startled by this letter. Knowing, from his personal experience in the year 1641, that the covenanting leaders were actuated by no principles of honour or generosity, he could not accept this note, penned under that influence, as the command of his sovereign. He wrote earnestly in reply, that he might be fully and truly informed of the precise condition of the king; and while he declared that his anxiety was not for himself, but that he was ready to lay down arms, and even to become a sacrifice for the sake of his royal master and country, he entreated that steps might be taken to ensure the safety of his friends and followers who had so nobly supported the standard.* Meanwhile, however, he did not relax in his exertions to release his majesty from the toils into which he had fallen, as this letter, addressed "For the Tutor of Strowan," indicates :

"ASSURED FRIEND,—Being informed that you have presently all your regiment in readiness at one head, these are therefore to will you, immediately after sight hereof, to repair to us with all possible diligence; till when, I remit all other particulars, and continue your assured friend,

" MONTROSE.

" *Glenshie, 10th June 1646.*"†

Before the end of this month, however, Charles was again compelled to write as follows :—

* I have not been so fortunate as to recover Montrose's part of this correspondence, but the substance of it is preserved by Wishart and Guthry, who are corroborated by the terms of the king's rejoinders to the marquis. It was not hitherto known that his majesty's letters were preserved; but they are all in the Montrose charter-chest, except the first, of which a copy is among the Clarendon Papers, and the original of which probably never reached Montrose.

† Donald Robertson, tutor of Strowan, was one of Montrose's most faithful and efficient colonels throughout these wars. The commissions to him from Montrose are yet extant; for copies of which and of the above letter, I am indebted to James Robertson, Esq., mentioned before, p. 298.

"MONTROSE,—I assure you that I no less esteem your willingness to lay down arms at my command, for a gallant and real expression of your zeal and affection to my service, than any of your former actions. But I hope that you cannot have so mean an opinion of me, that for any particular or worldly respects I could suffer you to be ruined. No,—I avow that it is one of the greatest and truest marks of my present miseries that I cannot recompense you according to your deserts, but, on the contrary, must yet suffer a cloud of the misfortunes of the times to hang over you. Wherefore I must interpret those expressions, in your letter, concerning yourself, to have only relation to *your own generosity*. For you cannot but know that they are contrary to my unalterable resolutions, which, I assure you, I neither conceal nor mince, for there is no man who ever heard me speak of you that is ignorant that the reason which makes me at this time send you out of the country is, that you may return home with the greater glory, and, in the mean time, to have *as honourable an employment as I can put upon you*. This trusty bearer, Robin Car, will tell you the care I have had of all your friends, and mine, to whom albeit I cannot promise such conditions as I would, yet they will be such as, all things considered, are most fit for them to accept. Wherefore I renew my former directions, of laying down arms unto you ; desiring you to let Huntly, Crawford, Airly, Seaforth,* and Ogilvy know that want of time hath made me now omit to reiterate my former commands to them, intending that this shall serve for all, assuring them, and all the rest of my friends, that, whensoever God shall enable me, they shall reap the fruits of their loyalty and affection to my service. So I rest your most assured, constant, real, faithful friend,

"CHARLES R.

"Newcastle, 15th June 1646."†

* Seaforth had of late openly joined Montrose, and was ever after faithful to the loyal cause ; but his exertions now were of little avail.

† Orig.—Montrose charter-chest.

The king was now a prisoner in the hands of the covenanting commissioners, the chief of whom, Argyle, Lindsay, Loudon; Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnston, had long been familiar with treason, and were the mortal enemies of Montrose. These sent him certain written conditions of surrender; but their messenger returned with this answer, "that as he had taken up arms under the commission and by desire of his majesty, he would receive conditions for laying them down from no mortal but the king himself." This occasioned the letter that finally determined the marquis to capitulate, and to quit his country, and which shall be presently quoted.

It is asserted by Burnet that this brave man owed his own preservation and that of his friends, as well as the permission which he now obtained to depart out of the kingdom, mainly to the benevolent exertions of the Duke of Hamilton, who used all his influence to that effect with General Middleton, then commanding in the north of Scotland. This, says he, was "a very unexampled and sublime exercise of his virtue; for at this time the king was in great perplexity about Montrose's affairs, since to leave him to the fury of his enemies, for having served him faithfully, was so contrary to his honour and conscience, that the king abhorred the thought of it; on the other hand, he could not preserve him, for, having recalled his commission, his further actings were *legally treasonable*." We have already seen that these "legally treasonable actings" consisted in pausing for certain information, ere he laid down his arms, lest Charles himself might fall a victim to treason in the worst sense of the term. It was to his majesty and not to Hamilton that he owed all that was honourable in the capitulation to which he now submitted at the command of his sovereign. Not sooner than the end of April 1646, a few days before the monarch placed himself in the hands of the Earl of Leven and his committee, had the duke been released from confinement. Nothing had occurred to restore him to the royal confidence, or to cause the unhappy monarch to doubt the truth of that impeach-

ment of his integrity in the affairs of Scotland, which Montrose and other high-minded nobles had unhesitatingly preferred. Indeed, the covenanting zeal of the fugitive Lanerick, ever since that event, added strong confirmation, if such had been wanting, of their sinister alliance with the worst enemies of the throne in the north. Accordingly, Hamilton was restored to freedom, not by the returning favour of his master, but by the army of the parliament, when they took the fortress in which he was confined. It was not long, indeed, ere his vicious counsel was again thrust upon the unhappy Charles, who had as little power to reject him as to retain the victor of Kilsyth. The bishop's account of their first reunion is amusing. "In July the duke came to Newcastle, to wait on his majesty; and when he first kissed the king's hand, *his majesty and he blushed at once.*" If this simultaneous expression of inward feeling actually occurred, the one must have coloured from indignation, and the other from shame. But, adds this wily chronicler, "as the duke was retiring back with a *little confusion*, into the crowd that was in the room, the king asked if he was afraid to come near him, upon which he came to the king, and they entered into a large conversation together, wherein his majesty expressed the sense he had of his *long sufferings*, in terms so full of affection, that he not only brake through all his *resentments*, but set a new edge again upon his old affection and duty." And, if we are to believe the biographer, Charles then told the duke, only now released by the intervention of the rebels, that he had ever believed him innocent of the principal charges made against him, and "that his restraint was extorted from him much against his heart." *

Be this as it may, there is unquestionable proof that the conditions now offered to Montrose, through a capitulation with Middleton, are in no degree to be attributed to the "unexampled and sublime virtue" of Hamilton. It was not until the month of *July* that the latter nobleman was again in pre-

* *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, pp. 279, 280.

sence of the king. But from the letters we have just quoted, it appears that in the months of May and June, Charles had already assured the marquis, in the most solemn terms of unalterable affection, that he would obtain honourable conditions in laying down his arms. It was not until the *seventeenth** of July that Hamilton again entered the presence-chamber. Upon the day *pævious* to that, his Majesty had written the following note to Montrose, clearly importing that the terms with Middleton had been arranged before the duke returned to the councils of his sovereign :

“ MONTROSE,—The most sensible part of my many misfortunes is to see my friends in distress, and not to be able to help them. And of this kind you are the chief. Wherefore, according to that real freedom and friendship which is between us, as I cannot absolutely command you to accept of unhand-some conditions, so I must tell you that I believe your refusal will put you in a far worse estate than your compliance will. This is the reason that I have told this bearer, Robin Car, and the commissioners here, that I have commanded you to accept of Middleton’s conditions, which really I judge to be your best course, according to this present time. For if this opportunity be let slip, you must not expect any more treaties. In which case you must either conquer all Scotland, or be inevitably ruined. That you may make the clearer judgment what to do, I have sent you here enclosed the chancellor’s answers to your demands. Whereupon, if you find it fit to accept, you may justly say *I have commanded you* ; and if you take another course, you cannot expect that I can publicly avow you in it, until I shall be able (which God knows how soon that will be) to stand upon my own feet, but, on the contrary, seem to be not well satisfied with your refusal, which I find clearly will bring all this army upon you,—and then I shall be in a very sad condition, such as I shall rather leave to

* Guthry, p. 224.

your judgment than seek to express. However, you shall always find me to be your most assured, real, constant, faithful friend,

“CHARLES R.

“*Newcastle, 16th July 1646.*

“P.S.—Whatever you may otherwise hear, this is truly my sense, which I have ventured freely unto you, without a cipher, because I conceive this to [be] *coup de partie*.”*

Immediately on receiving this letter, upon the 22d of July, Montrose and Middleton arranged the terms of a cessation of arms, and the former invited the covenanting general to a private conference on the subject of the conditions of safety for his friends. They met accordingly, in the romantic manner our hero seems always to have conducted such proceedings. Under the canopy of heaven, and on a plain near the river Isla, they conversed together two hours, each with a single attendant to hold his horse. The stipulations were, that the marquis himself, Ludowick earl of Crawford, and Sir John Hurry,—who had lately attached himself to his conqueror,—were to be excluded from all favour, except safe transportation beyond sea, in a vessel belonging to the Estates, provided they set sail before the first of September. Graham of Gorthy was to be restored from forfeiture only in so far as regarded his person, because his lands had been given to Balcarres. All his other friends and followers were to retain their lives and property, just as if they had not engaged with him. The committee of the assembly, greatly enraged at these comparatively humane conditions, declared them to be *contrary to the Covenant*; and, to mark their dissent, upon the 27th of July they thundered their excommunications against the Earl of Airly, the Grahams of Gorthy and Inchbrakie, Sir Allaster Macdonald, Stuart the Irish adjutant, the Tutor of Strowan,

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

and the Bailie of Athol. But Middleton, a gallant and honourable soldier, adhered strictly to the terms.

Montrose assembled the melancholy remains of his army at Rattray on the 30th of July, where he bade them farewell, and dismissed them in the name of the king. Those who had so faithfully followed him to the last hour of his laborious campaigns, and were willing to accompany him still, could not but feel the deepest sorrow and anxiety as they thus parted. Some fell on their knees, and with tears entreated that they might go with him wherever he went. At his own request his particular friends, amongst whom was still the gallant old Earl of Airly, left him for the time, and returned home to put what order they could to their involved affairs and ruined estates. He himself bent his course to his desolate house of Old Montrose, to prepare for his exile; and the only companion of his way, at this moment, was his former antagonist, Sir John Hurry!

That, down to the very hour of his departure, he was acting under the express commands and consoled by the approbation of his sovereign will be seen from another letter, probably the answer to his own report of these proceedings sent to the king:—

“ Newcastle, 21st August 1646.

“ MONTROSE,—In all kinds of fortunes you find a way more and more to oblige me; and it is none of my least misfortunes, that all this time I can only return to you verbal repayment. But I assure you, that the world shall see that the real expressions of my friendship to you shall be an infallible sign of my change of fortune. As for your desires, they are all so just, that I shall endeavour what I can to have them all satisfied; not without hope to give you contentment in most of them; the particulars whereof you will receive an account by this bearer, Ro. Car; to whom referring you, I rest your most assured, real, faithful, constant friend,

“ CHARLES R.

"Defer your going beyond seas as long as you may, without breaking your word."^{*}

But the marquis soon discovered that it was the design of the Covenanters to break faith with him, and either to seize him in Scotland on the pretext that he had allowed the time of his departure to expire, or to make him their prey by means of some English men-of-war stationed for that purpose near the mouth of the Esk. The vessel promised by the Estates made its appearance in the harbour of Montrose upon the last day of August, the utmost limit of term granted to him. The commander of the ship, which was of the worst possible description, declared he could not be ready to put to sea for several days. He was a rigid and violent Covenanter, and the crew had been carefully selected of the same stamp.[†] But with his usual energetic and adventurous spirit, the noble exile provided for his own safety. In the harbour of Stonehaven he found a small pinnace belonging to Bergen in Norway, the master of which was easily bribed to be ready for sea by the day appointed. Thither he sent Sir John Hurry, young Drummond of Balloch, Henry Graham, John Spottiswood (the nephew of the president), John Lilly, and Patrick Melville, officers of courage and experience, his celebrated chaplain Dr Wishart, David Guthry, whom the doctor calls a very brave and gallant gentleman, Pardus Lasound, a Frenchman, who had been Lord Gordon's servant, a German boy of the name of Rodolph, distinguished for his fidelity and honesty, with several trusty domestics. These set sail for Norway on the 3d of September. That same evening, our hero, disguised in a coarse habit, and passing for an attendant on the reverend James Wood, a very worthy clergyman who was his sole companion, reached, by

^{*} *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

[†] "*Navarchus, non modo ignotus, sed et conjuratorum propugnator rudis, ac pertinax; nautæ, militesque ejusdem, farinæ homines, infensi, morosi, ac mirabundi; navis ipsa nec commeatu instructa, nec apta ad navigationem.*"—Wishart.

means of a small fly-boat, a wherry that lay at anchor outside the port of Montrose. Thus he escaped in the year 1646, and of his age the thirty-fourth.

It will not be thought an unnecessary or uninteresting digression, to conclude this chapter with some notices relative to those of his domestic circle for whom he must have felt the deepest concern.

Lord Graham, the eldest hope of his house,* he was obliged to leave at the discretion of the government. This youth was about thirteen ; and two years afterwards, while his father was yet abroad, that most fantastical as well as tyrannical of all democracies, the presbyterian church, treated the young Graham as if the fate of the kingdom or of the Covenant depended upon his training. In the MS. Minutes of the Commission of the General Assembly the following characteristic entry appears : —“ *Edinburgh, 4th December 1648.*—The Commission of Assembly recommends the education of James Graham, son to James Graham, some time Earl of Montrose, to the masters of the universities of St Andrews or Glasgow, or of the college of the new town of Aberdeen, or either of them that his tutors and friends shall think fit to send him to ; recommending also to the said masters, and to the ministers of these towns respectively, to take *special inspection* of the education of the said youth, and to try the qualification, affection, and conversation of any governor that shall be with him.”

A few months before Montrose was required to lay down arms, death had removed from his share in these “ troubles ” the venerable Lord Napier. He had reached the north after the rout at Philiphaugh ; but when the marquis hurried back

* I had formerly stated that Montrose had only two sons, the eldest who died at Gordon Castle in 1645, and the one now named. This was the general understanding, and is so stated in the Peerages. I have since discovered, from the Caledonian Mercury, of date 1661, that, at the *second funeral* of Montrose in that year, the chief mourners were the then marquis, and *his brother Lord Robert*.

with his recruits to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, about the end of October 1645, this excellent nobleman, broken down by fatigue and distress, was totally unable to follow him further. He was left in a feeble state at Fincastle in Athol, and when his brother-in-law arrived there on his return from the south at the close of November, he found that his much-esteemed relative had just breathed his last. This faithful servant and friend of James VI. and Charles I. was spared the pang of knowing the ultimate fate of his beloved sovereign, and of his cherished pupil. The marquis returned in time to consign him to his grave in the kirk of Blair, over which he mourned as if for a parent, a counsellor, and a friend.* The Committee of Estates, although well aware of his worth, and of the injustice of the persecutions he had suffered, came to the savage resolution, in the year 1647, of taking up his remains, and passing sentence upon the dead. A summons to this effect was actually raised, calling his heir, who was then in exile, to appear and see it done; but upon the payment by him of 5000 merks, this infamous process was dropt.† His great estates in the Lothians, Lennox, and Menteith, were now at the mercy of the dominant party. Argyle ordered troops to be quartered on those lands, and the young Lord Napier very nearly lost his life in a spirited attempt to raise suitable protection for his own and his uncle's property. Leaving the north, some time in the month of February 1646, he passed into Strathern, accompanied by his cousin John Drummond of Balloch and the Laird of MacNab. These, with a party of not more than fifty men, presently took possession of Montrose's castle of Kincardine; and when General Middleton learnt that the youth had fortified himself there, he invested it with his whole forces, and battered the walls with artillery brought from Stirling. During fourteen days they held the fortress, when the well becoming suddenly dry, the garrison were reduced to extremity. The doom of Montrose's nephew appeared at

* Wishart. See before, p. 5.

† The summons is in the Napier charter-chest.

hand, for unquestionably, had he been taken, they would have led him to a scaffold ; but finding the castle surrounded by Middleton's army, Napier and his cousin made an effort to save their lives which happily succeeded. His lordship was attended by a young page named John Graham, well acquainted with the neighbourhood, who undertook to be their guide in this perilous attempt. At midnight, when the moon had disappeared, he brought three horses to a small postern, at which they all mounted, and passing quietly through the enemy's camp, made their escape, and joined Montrose in the north. Middleton ordered twelve of those whom he found in the house to be immediately shot, and the rest were sent to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Kincardine was then burnt to the ground, on the 16th of March 1646.

Lord Napier appears to have been saved from a decree of forfeiture at this time, as well as from the anathema of the Church, through the influence of his puritanical uncle, Robert Napier of Bowhopple, Culcreugh, and Drumquhannie. This worthy was the second son of the celebrated Inventor of Logarithms, by a second marriage,* and is well known to the scientific world as the editor of the posthumous works of that great man. He entertained very different views in politics from his brother, the late lord ; and, though usually devoted to his recondite studies, he now exerted himself to convert his loyal nephew. In a letter dated 31st of May 1646 (the very day on which Montrose received the king's first letter requiring him to disband his forces), the Covenanter implores him to " return yet in time before all time be lost, and let the first beginning of your majority in age evidence better resolutions than did the ending of your minority : " " Now at this present time, by the king's incoming to us, by his recalling his commissions formerly granted to your uncle, and by commanding the laying down of arms, it is high time for you to resolve not to

* The first Lord Napier was the only son of the great Napier, by his marriage with the daughter of Stirling of Keir. Thus, Sir George Stirling and his father-in-law Napier were first cousins.

adhere any more to your uncle's courses and ways : Let not, I pray you, *the preposterous love you carry to him* any longer blind the eyes of your understanding, nor miscarry you ; consider, I entreat you, and I pray the Almighty to move your heart to consider, that upon this very nick of time depends the utter ruin or safety of yourself, of your house and estate, lady, children, and posterity, your nearest friends, and of all that by the link and tie of nature should be dearest to you : for certainly, if you continue longer in that evil course, your forfeiture will not be long delayed, your lady and children shall be reduced to extreme want, whereof they already feel the beginning,—your whole estate being already so cantoned, divided, and taken up, that neither have they their necessary maintenance off it, neither payeth it any of your father's debt,—neither shall your sister have any thing to maintain her.”* The puritanical Laird of Bowhopple then proceeds with a long catalogue of direful consequences, “ the sad effects, which your preposterous love in following your uncle will produce.” This eloquent appeal had no effect upon the object of it, who preferred to follow in the footsteps of his loyal father ; and, to quote his own expressions, “ Montrose and his nephew were like the pope and the church, who would be inseparable.” Being included in the capitulation with Middleton, he returned

* Lilius was the only unmarried daughter of the late lord. In the MS. Record of Parl., of date 13th December 1645, there is minuted a petition from “ Mrs Lilius Naper, dochter lawful to umquhile Archibald lord Naper.” The petition narrates, that her father had “ provided for her by bond, in a sum of money for my provision and portion natural ; and now, since his decease, being destitute of parents, having nothing to look for but that sum for the advancement of my fortune, when it shall please God the same shall offer, and in the mean time nothing but the interest and profit thereof to maintain me, and hearing that your lordships be about to dispose my father's estate for the use of the public,”—therefore this persecuted young lady prays them to take her hard case into consideration. The petition was read in Parliament, and remitted to the “ committee for money ;” meanwhile, it was agreed to afford her some aliment. Lilius Napier was born 15th December 1626 ; so that at the date of this petition she had not completed her nineteenth year.

home when the marquis quitted Scotland, in order to arrange his domestic affairs. The avaricious Committee of Estates, besides doing what they pleased with his lands, compelled him to pay £2000 sterling in name of fine for his escape from Holyrood.* To save a remnant of his estates for their family, it was arranged that Lady Elizabeth should remain in Scotland, with their five children, while the young lord, having signed a deed of commission to her and her father the Earl of Mar, dated 2d March 1647, joined his uncle in Paris.

I have not been able to ascertain the ultimate fate of his loyal and suffering sister, the Lady of Keir, who sent the "well-known token" to Montrose; but her husband, Sir George Stirling, also sought safety abroad about this time, and resided chiefly in Holland. The following melancholy letter, dated two months after the marquis's departure, is addressed, "For my dear brother, the Laird of Keir, These:—"—

"DEAR BROTHER,—Though I be glad of so frequent occasions, yet I am sorry they are with *such bearers*; for if business had not gone miserably here, there would a been *more ado* with these honest men, who now are forced to leave their own country. I need say no more, since I know by them you will be informed particularly; nor have I *any contentment to write it*; yet, for your satisfaction, I shall acquaint you of what passes hereafter, and constantly shall be your most affectionate sister, and humble servant,
"LILIAS NAPIER.†
"Stirling, 6th Nov." [1646.]

* Yet his father had already paid about L.900 sterling for that offence, and a debt of L.800 sterling, due by the government to the late lord, was refused to be taken into account. In the Napier charter-chest there is the following original extract, dated in the month after that in which Montrose made his escape. "Edin. 23d October 1646.—The Committee of Estates declares that the Lord Napier his accidentally *meeting with* the late Earl of Montrose, his uncle, abroad out of the country, shall not infer a contravention of his act, *provided he converse not with the said late earl.*—*Extractum, Arch. Primeroe, Cler.*"

† *Orig.*—Keir charter-chest.

Having traced thus far the melancholy fortunes of "the plotters," this chapter will be fitly concluded by recording some unknown particulars of the demise of their distinguished prosecutor, his majesty's advocate, Sir Thomas Hope. This singular individual, who laboured through his long and eventful life to reconcile the worship of God and Mammon, fell into comparative insignificance after presiding at that General Assembly which accomplished the Solemn League and Covenant. His talents and tact were of great use to the revolutionary party, so long as Charles I. was sufficiently feared as a monarch to render the assistance of such a privy-councillor necessary to them. But when the assembly of 1643, with which Hope's influence may be said to have terminated, had brought the popular movement to its highest pitch, the occupation of the advocate, at least as a partisan of the Covenant, was gone. He appears to have lost heart, after recording in his journal the battle of Aulderne, in May 1645 : but he survived until the end of October next year, when Sir Archibald Johnston succeeded him in the office of public prosecutor, not long before the transaction wherein that party gave up their king, and all that remained of their honour. The following letter from the President of the Committee of Estates, addressed, "For my much honoured brother, George Dundas of Duddingstone," affords a view of this celebrated statesman on his deathbed, at the very time when, in fulfilment of his own prophecy, those with whom he had long co-operated were indeed about to let "all protestant princes see that they had not religion for their end, but the bearing down of monarchy."*

"MY BELOVED BROTHER,—I am deprived of my glory now, when I am bereft of my dearest father, who this night went up to the hope of glory, after five days' sickness, during which time all who were about him heard an old Simeon with praises

* See before, p. 125.

in his mouth, and joy in his heart. This morning he called for me, and although extremely weak, he himself desired me to join with him,—took up the 23d psalm, and sung it out to the end distinctly and feelingly. I have made a mighty loss, and I trow this land doth share with me also. I am to enter into a sea, a stormy sea, of burthens and difficulties. If the Lord help me not I am undone. But the Lord will help me. On the next Tuesday his burial will be here in town, where I look for you and your kind brother William that day. Till then, and ever, I am yours in the Lord,

“ Sir J. H., CRAIGHALL.

“ You will be pleased in my name to invite any dear ones you meet with, as young Dundas, and Powrie, and any else as you meet with them.

“ *Craighall, October 1646.*”*

* From the charter-chest of Thomas Bruce, Esq. of Arnot.

CHAPTER XIII.

Charles in the Hands of the Scots Army—Montrose's Proposition to save him—Carried by Lord Crawford to the Queen—Letters of her Majesty and Lord Jermyn on the Subject—The Covenanters sell the King to the Parliament—Letter from Charles to Montrose—The Queen's Letters to Montrose—Jermyn's Jealousy of him—Attempts to prevent Montrose meeting with the Queen—His Counsel to her Majesty at Paris—Is opposed and thwarted by Jermyn—Sends the King a Sword—Charles writes to Montrose, and thanks him for the Sword—Letter from Montrose to Keir—Forms a Friendship with the Cardinal de Retz—His Character by De Retz—Cardinal Mazarine attempts to engage him in the Service of France—Charles I. goes to the Isle of Wight—His Condition there—Difference between the Presbyterian Covenanters and the Independents—New Combination between Hamilton and Argyle—Collision between the Committee of Estates and General Assembly—The Hamilton Party offer their Services to the Queen—Montrose advises her in vain—Quits Paris, and joins the Emperor of Germany—Is commissioned as Field-marshal of the Empire—Lord Napier's Letter to his Lady, with an Account of Montrose's Proceedings—Returns to Brussels with the Emperor—Fate of Hamilton and the Army of the Engagement—Argyle calls Cromwell into Scotland—Montrose's Cipher Key.

MONTROSE was not deceived as to the present condition of the king ; and that the new conjunction of Hamilton and Argyle could be productive of no good, he had the best reason to believe from sad experience. Nor did his majesty's prospects appear to be brightened by the fact, that on the death of Sir Thomas Hope, as just narrated, the person upon whom he was constrained to confer the office of Crown Advocate was one of the most devoted of the Covenanters, the rebellious, vindictive

Procurator of the Kirk. Montrose knew that his sovereign was in fact a prisoner ; and that their object was to compel him to yield an implicit obedience to their tyrannical demands. Indeed they now openly declared, that the only condition on which they could secure even his personal safety, was that he should "take the Covenant," whether against his conscience or not.* Under these circumstances, before quitting the country the marquis exerted himself to organize a northern combination, or *Engagement* (as such bonds were then termed), to save the king by force of arms. He understood that his majesty intended to employ him in the capacity of ambassador-extraordinary at Paris, where, under the directions of Henrietta Maria, he should endeavour to move the foreign powers to come to the rescue of the British monarchy. Preparatory to this mission he had been most active, after his army was disbanded, in ascertaining what force the loyal chiefs in the north of Scotland could bring into the field, if sanctioned by the countenance of the Queen of England, the Prince of Wales, and their foreign allies. Probably he had found means of communicating this design to Charles, which would account for the expressions in his majesty's letter of the 21st of August : "Montrose, in all kinds of fortune you find a way more and more to oblige me. Delay your going as long as you can, without breaking your word." Certain it is, that, shortly before he made his escape to Norway, he had despatched his friend, Lord Crawford, with written proposals, to be submitted to Henrietta Maria and her councillors at Paris. Crawford, accordingly, set out in the first place for Ireland, to commu-

* Baillie would not even admit that the king had any conscientious feeling on the subject. In a letter to Henderson, dated April 28, 1646, he says, "Though he should swear it, no man will believe it, that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any conscience." Baillie was about as good a judge of the conscience of Charles I. as he was of "the reach" of Cromwell. "Vane and Cromwell," he says, in a letter to Spang, September 1st, 1647, "*as I take it, are of nimble hot fancies to put all in confusion, but not of any deep reach.*"

nicate with the Marquis of Antrim, and from thence proceeded to France, where he arrived with his instructions early in the month of October 1646.

Unfortunately, at this time the queen was almost entirely guided by the advice of her favourite, Lord Jermyn, a mere courtier, who had conceived a great jealousy of Montrose, when he understood that he was on his way to France. The nature of his employment was already known to Jermyn through Ashburnam, who had joined the councils of her majesty when driven from his royal master soon after their unfortunate journey to Newark. He therefore took all occasions of detracting from the merits of the hero, and selfishly laboured to counteract any scheme, however loyal, which seemed to interfere with his own influence. No one ought to have been welcomed with greater cordiality at the court of Henrietta than the Marquis of Montrose. Yet his approach to Paris is mentioned by Jermyn, in a letter to the king, as coldly as possible, and only from the necessity of reporting the arrival of Lord Crawford, with the propositions already mentioned. It appears from the correspondence, preserved among the Clarendon papers, that while the queen's Presbyterian advisers so unfeelingly urged his majesty to sacrifice his conscience to the Covenant, Lords Jermyn and Colepepper, on the 19th of October 1646, thus write :—"The Earl of Crawford came hither six days since from Scotland, by the way of Ireland. His business is to propose to the queen, in the name of Montrose (whom we expect here every day) and himself, and many noblemen and gentlemen of the Highlands of Scotland, a design to raise for your service an army of 30,000 men, with which he proposes to reduce Scotland this winter entirely under your obedience ; and from thence to march into England (he nameth London itself) and to do as much. He hath showed her majesty a list of all the persons of quality that are to be the heads of these men, and of the numbers which they are to bring, armed with a fusée, sword, and target ; and affirms that they will all engage themselves accordingly, if the queen and prince shall

encourage them so to do. Their quarrel is to be, to free your majesty from imprisonment ; for they take you to be under restraint, and no better than a prisoner.”* The letter goes on, in a cold depreciating tone, to mention the support required by Montrose in money and Irish troops ; and then they say, “ we only from them make this relation to you, to whom we leave the judgment, as better understanding the condition and power of Scotland, and the probability of the design than we do.” It is added, however, that the queen had already despatched an express to the Highlands in her own name, and that another had gone in name of Prince Charles, desiring these loyal noblemen and gentlemen “ to respite their reasons a little, until she may more particularly hear from you, and know in what condition your person and affairs are. The Lord Crawford seems to fear nothing but that they will be tampered with, to be taken off with great offers, before they shall be encouraged from hence.”†

It is singular that in the queen’s letter to his majesty of the very same date, this Engagement is only cursorily mentioned, and Montrose himself neither named nor alluded to, though expected in Paris every day. All that she says on the subject is, “ My Lord Crawford is arrived, who brings me very great offers on the part of your adherents in Scotland ; with respect to which I shall take all necessary steps.” Meanwhile, how-

* A list of the forces is given in the letter, and it is added, “ My Lord Branford has seen the list, and says he knows all the persons, and that he believes they are able to make good the numbers mentioned in the paper.” “ The Marquis of Antrim, in name of Clarendon, 2000 men ; Maclean, 2000 ; Macranald, 1300 ; Macleod of Harris, 1000 ; Sir James Macdonnell, 2000 ; Earl of Seaforth, 2000 ; the Lord Rea, 1200 ; the country of Athol and Badenoch, 3000 ; Clan-gregor, and Farquharson, 1200 ; Grant, 1000 ; Clanhattan and Strath-ern men, 1000 ; the Marquis of Huntly, 1500 ; the Earl of Airly, 400 ; the Earl of Airth, 700 ; Macniell of Bara, 500 ; Glengarry, 500 ; the Earl of Nithisdale, 1000 ; the Marquis of Montrose, 1000 ; the Lord Dalkeith 100 horse. Total 23,400.”

† Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 271.

ever, her majesty had written to the Highlands an order nearly equivalent to declining their services. The king's reply to these heartless letters* does not appear; but that every possible aid and encouragement ought to have been given to the warlike chiefs who were willing to attempt his rescue, was soon made manifest. On the 2d of January thereafter Charles writes:—"Dear Heart,—I must tell thee that now I am *declared* what I have really been ever since I came to this army, which is a prisoner; for the governor told me some four days since, that he was commanded to secure me, lest I should make an escape; the difference being only this, that heretofore my escape was easy enough, but now it is most difficult, if not impossible." And shortly afterwards the dishonourable transaction was concluded, which, when announced to the deserted monarch, caused him to exclaim "then am I bought and sold." Hamilton's conduct upon this occasion was in keeping with the whole tenor of his life. Having done much to cause and nothing to avert the disgraceful result, he and his brother Lanerick, at the eleventh hour, *protested* against the sale of the king. But he received thirty thousand pounds as his own share of the price; to Argyle an equal share was allotted; Sir Archibald Johnston, "his majesty's advocate," received three thousand; fifteen thousand were set aside for "Argyle's friends;" while the zealous of the clergy were rewarded in proportion to their zeal in promoting the cause of rebellion.

After Charles knew his fate, and a few days before he was delivered into the hands of the commissioners sent by the parliament, he thus wrote to Montrose:—

"MONTROSE,—Having no cipher with you, I think not fit

* The coldness and reserve on the subject of this gallant proposal is the more remarkable that the queen in the same letter says, "I have received no letters from you this week, which makes me very uneasy, as we hear from London that the Scots are resolved to deliver you into the hands of the parliament."—Clarendon Papers, p. 271.



New Castle 21. Jan. 1648.

Montrose, having no further wish you, I thinke not fit to write
his what I care not though all the World read is; for is then, I
congratulate your coming to the Low Countries, hoping before this
that ye are safely arrived at Paris; next I refer you to this mus-
ticke beare for the knowledge of my persons condition, w^{ch} is such as
all the directions I am able to give you, is, to desire you to dispose
of your selfe as my Wyfe shall advise you, knowing that she truly
esteemes your worth, for she is myne, & I am

Your most assured and faithfull
constant Friend Charles R

to write but what I care not though all the world read it. First, then, I congratulate your coming to the Low Countries, hoping before this that ye are safely arrived at Paris. Next, I refer you to this trusty bearer for the knowledge of my present condition, which is such, as all the directions I am able to give you is to desire you to dispose of yourself as my wife shall advise you. Knowing that she truly esteems your worth,—for she is mine, and I am your most assured, real, faithful, constant friend,

“CHARLES R.

“*Newcastle, Jan. 21, 1647.*”*

The king had been misinformed as to the marquis's progress, for of the date of this letter he was at Hamburg. He had, some time in September, with his suite reached Bergen in Norway, the port to which their vessel belonged; from whence he journeyed to Christiana, and soon afterwards embarked for Denmark. His immediate object was to obtain an audience of Christian V., the maternal uncle and most friendly ally of his royal master; but when he arrived in Denmark he learnt that the king was in Germany. So he again embarked, and crossing the Baltic, passed through Holstein, and established himself at Hamburg, where he remained for some time, anxiously expecting tidings of the fate of Charles, and the result of his own negotiation with the queen. But he was aware of the baneful influence of Jermyn, and had little hopes of a cordial reception in that quarter, however naturally inclined her majesty might be to aid his exertions.

It is remarkable that, although Henrietta Maria, so early as the month of October, had received Montrose's propositions, and immediately thereafter had transmitted a despatch to Scotland for the purpose of checking the ardour of the loyal chiefs, her first letter to him should have been dated so late as the 5th of February following, and appear to treat his proposals as if they were most welcome.

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

"COUSIN,—I am very happy to have this opportunity of writing to you in the mean time, until I can furnish you with more ample despatches, regarding the proposition submitted to me by my Lord Crawford on your part, and that of several good servants of his majesty in the Highlands of Scotland, of which I *approve extremely*; and as I hold it to be of great importance to the service of his majesty, I shall do all that I can to further it, and labour therein with all my power. This letter is merely to tell you generally of what you shall be more particularly informed by myself in the ensuing week; and also to assure you, that I shall never be contented until I am able to prove, by deeds, the estimation in which I hold yourself, and the services you have rendered to the king, so that you may be satisfied that I am truly your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

"HENRIETTA MARIA.*"

"Paris, 5th Feb." [1647].

Meanwhile, the marquis had communicated with her majesty; for, on the 12th of February, she again writes to him, "I have received your letters, one that came by the Sound, and the other with Major Carr, and am extremely rejoiced to learn the condition you are in, the rebels having spread a report that you had been defeated.† I wish I could give you as good an account of the state of affairs in England. I have commanded Jermyn to write to you more fully, and this bearer to tell you, moreover, what I cannot venture to commit to writing. Therefore, referring you to them, I conclude with the assur-

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest. All the queen's letters are written in French.

† This seems to mean a report that he had been driven out of Scotland in consequence of the defeat of his troops. But so far was this from being the case, that, when Montrose was desired by the king to lay down his arms, he was on the point of becoming again most formidable to the Covenanters. This they well know. Baillie, in a letter dated 26th June, 1646, says "We are afraid Montrose and Antrim lay not down arms; and if the king *escape* to them, it will be a woful case."

rance, that I am so deeply impressed with the faithful and great services you have rendered to the king, that I shall always have your interests as much at heart, and more so, than my own. Believe this, I entreat of you, and that I am," &c.*

While our hero was entertained by these fine words, for it does not appear that he got any instructions whatever from Jermyn on the subject of the Engagement, the intelligence reached him that the king had been sold to the parliament. He then quitted Hamburgh, some time in February, and was on his way through Flanders to Paris, when met by Ashburnam bearing the following letter to him from her majesty, dated Paris, March 15: "The moment," she says, "that I was apprized of your arrival in Holland, I became anxious to assure you, by this letter, of the continuance of my estimation of the services which you have rendered to his majesty. I feel assured you will go on in that course whenever you can,—your own deeds afford a testimony that is not to be doubted; on the other hand I hope you will believe that there is nothing within my power I would not do to show my gratitude to you. I have charged Ashburnam to speak to you more particularly of *something* for the service of the king. Referring you to him, in whom you may place the most implicit reliance, I conclude with repeating the assurance, that I am very sincerely, my cousin, your affectionate cousin and constant friend,

"HENRIETTA MARIA."†

The truth is, Lord Jermyn had already defeated Montrose's Engagement, and counteracted whatever inclination the queen herself might have had to entertain the scheme. And while he thus guarded against any application of her finances, or means of raising money, in which he was not to participate,‡ he also exerted himself to exclude from her court

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

† *Ibid.*

‡ The manner in which the thoughtless queen dissipated her slender resources and hurt her credit, is indicated by the following note, written

and presence the distinguished character now on his way thither. Accordingly, the "something," with which Ashburnam was charged for his ear, proved to be a proposition that he should return forthwith to Scotland, without seeing her majesty, and there renew the war, entirely upon his own credit and resources ; and this, too, after the queen (as appears by Jermyn's letter to Charles) had herself given the Highland chiefs reason to believe that their loyal services were not particularly required. To Ashburnam's discouraging message Montrose replied, that he was on his way to Paris by the command of his majesty, and must fulfil his mission ; that he had no means of renewing the war without the countenance and aid of the queen, who appeared to be unable to assist him ; that the loyalty of his friends in the north of Scotland had been much depressed by the order to lay down their arms ; that Huntly himself had been lately overpowered, and the ardour for the cause in those quarters required a new stimulus ; that when he reached Paris, and had paid his respects to her majesty, he should feel proud of any service put upon him by her, however dangerous and hopeless it might be ; but felt assured that he would not find it to be her opinion that he should disregard his majesty's commands, which were, to proceed to the French capital and receive his instructions from herself. Ashburnam had then the effrontery to affect concern for the marquis's own safety, and entreated him to return and make his peace with the Covenanters, court their friendship, and thereby preserve himself and friends for better times. " No one," replied Montrose, " has shown himself more forward in the king's behalf than I ; but I would not

by Secretary Nicholas to Clarendon, 8th March 1647, the very time that Montrose was on his way to Paris : " I hear that the queen hath lately made a marriage between two of her French servants ; which, it is said, hath cost her two thousand pistoles. For she gave a bed, and furniture for a chamber, and six suits of cloaths to the bride, besides plate and other presents. I hear she hath received all or most of her money, but pays not her servants. Keep this to yourself."—*Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii. p. 344.

obey the king himself if he told me to do that which would be dishonourable to me and prejudicial to him."

When the marquis arrived in Paris he went directly to her majesty, and endeavoured to persuade her of the absolute necessity of using every possible means of raising an army at home and abroad, to rescue the sovereign. But his eloquent appeal was as fruitless upon this occasion as it had been at a former crisis in the fate of Charles. They had not met since his advice had been rejected at York ; and all had proved as he then predicted, within a few years, during which he had traversed Scotland like a meteor. And now Argyle had sold the king, and *Hamilton* shared the spoil ! "The queen answered him," says Dr Wishart, "with a heavy heart, but without explaining herself sufficiently ; for when she was allowed to follow her own inclinations, she was greatly disposed to encourage and advance this noble person, who, of all the king's subjects, had done him the most valuable service ; but being deluded by the artifices of her courtiers, who vaunted of the power and riches of the Presbyterians, sometimes in a cajoling and at other times in a menacing manner, she was forced into opposite measures, and perplexed Montrose with various and contradictory sentiments." He had also been led to expect, from Charles's letters, that on his arrival at Paris he should receive from the queen not only full and explicit instructions, upon which he could immediately act, but also his credentials, as ambassador-extraordinary. He was told, however, that there were no directions or credentials for him there ; although Ashburnam informed him privately that he himself had been sent to apprize her majesty of the king's intentions to that effect, and had done so accordingly. But "Lord Jermyn, by his address and interest at court, got every thing rejected that tended to lessen his power or obstruct his profit."

Meanwhile the monarch, now approaching the termination of his sufferings, was so strictly confined and closely watched by his present keepers, that he had no means of communicating

with any of his friends. Perhaps this was the bitterest moment of Montrose's life, when he found himself rejected by the Queen of England, and forgotten as it seemed by the king himself, after all his labours and sacrifices, and while still devoted to save him. The noble romance of his affection is illustrated by this interesting fact, not hitherto known, that in the midst of his fruitless endeavours at Paris, some time between the months of March and June 1647, he had sent Charles a sword, which his majesty received. In a letter to Prince Charles, to be afterwards noticed, he declared, "I never had passion upon earth so strong as that to do the king, your father, service." This declaration may warrant our applying his own beautiful verses to his love for his royal master, and his anxiety to save him from evil counsellors.

My dear and only love, I pray,
 This noble world of thee
 Be governed by no other sway
 Than *purest Monarchie* ;
 For if confusion have a part,
 Which virtuous souls abhor,
 And hold a *synod* in thy heart,
 I'll never love thee more.

If in the empire of thy heart,
 Where I should solely be,
 Another do pretend a part
 And dare to vie with me ;
 Or if *committees* thou erect,
 And goes on such a score,
 I'll sing and laugh at thy neglect,
 And never love thee more.

But if thou wilt be constant then,
 And faithful of thy word,
 I'll make thee glorious *by my pen*,
 And famous *by my sword* :
 I'll serve thee in such noble ways
 Was never heard before,—
 I'll crown and deck thee all with bays,
 And love thee evermore.

From the end of January to the beginning of June, Charles had been rigorously confined at Holdenby, in the county of Northampton. But on the 3d of the latter month a new crisis occurred ; for "one Joyce," a madman whom the times had transmuted from a tailor into a cornet, at the head of a body of horse, seized the sacred person of his majesty, and transferred him from the parliament to Cromwell and his partisans. In his progress to Hampton Court, where the army placed him and for a time mocked him with the insignia of monarchy, he had passed through Newmarket, from whence he found an opportunity of writing this, most probably his last letter, to the heroic marquis :—

"MONTROSE,—When ye shall truly know my present condition, ye will rather wonder that I have received and answered yours, than that this bearer, the last time, went empty from me. But not being confident of the safe delivery of this, nor having any cipher with you, I think not fit to write freely unto you. Therefore, I desire you to take directions from my wife what ye are to do ; and be confident that no time, place, or condition, shall make me other than your most assured, real, faithful, constant friend,

"CHARLES R.

"Newmarket, 19th June, 1647.

"I thank you for the sword ye sent me.—Commend me to all my friends that are with you."*

As the king was suffered to keep his old state at Hampton Court, and permitted to engage in devotion with his own chaplains, and even to see his children, this deceitful lull in the hurricane of his fortunes brought some comfort even to himself, and caused an impression to go abroad that his complete restoration was about to be effected. Montrose had heard of this changed condition of the monarch, but entertained no

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.—Does this sword exist ?

sanguine hopes as to the result, as will appear from his allusion to it in the following letter, addressed to his exiled nephew :—

*“For the right worshipful Sir George Stirling of Keir.
In Holland.*

“HON. FRIEND,—I received yours, and am very glad of your welfare, being in some trouble on contrary conjectures ; not hearing hitherto from yourself, or of the receipt of the queen and prince’s letters, or from any other hand concerning your being in those parts ; for Balloch spoke nothing at all to me. As for your business there, I am afraid you find it longsome ; but if matters stand with the king *as we are made to understand*, or if it please God they go well with myself any other where, I hope you shall not need to think upon yourself, but leave me to do it. As for that which you spoke long ago concerning Lilius,* I have been thinking, but to no purpose ; for there is neither Scots man nor woman *welcome that way* ; neither would any of honour and virtue, chiefly a woman, suffer themselves to live in so lewd and worthless a place. So you may satisfy that person, and divert her thoughts resolutely from it. Wishing you all happiness, I am your faith-
fullest and affectionate brother,

“MONTROSE.

“Near Paris, 26 July, 1647.”†

In this letter, it will be observed he alludes to some prospects of his own abroad, if the king should no longer require his services. Indignant at his reception by Henrietta Maria, and disgusted with the petty intrigues of her advisers, he now kept aloof from her court. But, while he was slighted

* Montrose’s niece, Lilius Napier. Probably this refers to some proposal to find a place for her at the French court. It is to be hoped that Montrose’s severe expressions do not refer to the court of Henrietta Maria. Lilius Napier ultimately resided with her brother Lord Napier and Dr Wishart.

† *Orig.*—Keir charter-chest.

and disparaged by the silly retainers of the queen, the eyes of France were upon him. The celebrated Cardinal De Retz, then coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris, became attached to him during his residence there; and even in the full flow of that entertaining melange of history, politics, wit, and debauchery, entitled his memoirs, he pauses with dignity on the name of Montrose, and portrays him with the hand of a master. This celebrated churchman had introduced the hero to Mazarine, who then ruled the destinies of France, and he was the medium of some attempt to engage the marquis in the service of France, by offers of the most distinguished commands. But the latter, owing to causes that will appear in the sequel, suddenly broke off the negotiation, and went to Germany, for which reason he seems to have been alighted by the Cardinal on his casual return to Paris. The ardent De Retz resented what he considered a disrespect to his noble friend, and narrates it as one of several circumstances that had placed himself in opposition to the powerful minister of France. Then it is that he takes occasion to exclaim,—“Montrose, a Scottish nobleman, head of the house of Graham,—the only man in the world that has ever realized to me the ideas of certain heroes, whom we now discover nowhere but in the lives of Plutarch,—had sustained in his own country the cause of the king his master, with a greatness of soul that has not found its equal in our age.” And this eulogist was the friend of Condé and Turenne!

It was in the midst of these negotiations that Montrose was apprized of a new crisis in the fate of his beloved master, which threatened to be the last. In the month of November 1647, Charles was again induced to seek safety in flight, as some ominous circumstances had occurred to dissipate the semblance of freedom and security he had lately enjoyed. The result was that he placed himself still more within the power of his enemies, by his ill judged retreat to the Isle of Wight. Shortly afterwards, Cromwell proposed, to a secret council of the army, the trial and judgment of their sovereign as a tyrant

and traitor to the state. Montrose had long been satisfied, that betwixt the saints of Cromwell and the saints of Argyle, however they might quarrel over the spoils of the constitution, there was no broader distinction than what Salmasius is somewhere said to have thus expressed,—that the Presbyterians held down the king while the Independents cut his throat. It was, therefore, with infinite disgust he learnt that the championship for Charles was now to be taken up by the weak and vicious government of Scotland, who sent their commissioners to the Isle of Wight to treat with his majesty, in the name of that Covenant which the Independents had declared in the House of Commons to be “an almanack out of date.” Hamilton, who had signally failed in every military command, who had never been successful in the management of his majesty’s civil affairs, and who in all his transactions had exposed himself to the suspicion of treason; and Argyle, who in every expedition had brought disgrace upon himself personally, and in political questions had ever proved himself to be, in the words of his father, a “man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood”;^{*}—these two were now competitors for the honour of raising the monarchy they had pulled down, and saving the king they had betrayed. But they differed as to the *principle* upon which it was proposed by them to take up arms. Argyle proposed, as the sole cause of quarrel, that Presbyterian government had not been established in England in terms of the Solemn League and Covenant, although Episcopacy had been actually abolished. His rival, while he admitted this to be the chief cause of the war, proposed the special reason that the king was unjustly detained prisoner, contrary to the promises given to the Scots at Newcastle. The duke appealed to the covenanting parliament, and the other to the Assembly of the Kirk, which tribunals now came into violent collision. As the influence of the former at this time prevailed, they voted, on the 3d of May 1648, an army of 30,000 foot and 6000 horse, and nomi-

^{*} See before, p. 70.

nated Hamilton to the chief command. Thus discomfited, Gillespie Gruamach, finding himself for once in the minority of a covenanting parliament, but still faithfully supported by his majesty's advocate, Sir Archibald Johnston, put himself into secret communication with Oliver Cromwell, and invited him to espouse the cause of the Kirk, in opposition to the more loyal movement of the other faction.

Shortly before these transactions, the Scottish commissioners, in their new character of champions for the throne against the democrats of England, opened a communication with the queen and the Prince of Wales, to obtain their sanction and aid in furtherance of "the Engagement." Sir William Fleming, an undoubted loyalist, brother to the Earl of Wigton, and a near relation of Montrose, became, from some accident or other, the bearer of their propositions to Paris. Hence the marquiss soon heard of the treaty, and did not fail to give his unreserved opinion to her majesty on the subject. He truly represented the tainted sources whence this proffered aid arose, and that no safety to the king or honour to the country was likely to proceed from that anomalous alliance, so tyrannically based upon the revolutionary charter of the Solemn League and Covenant. Besides, that army must be committed to the leading of Hamilton or Argyle, whose names, as commanders, were only coupled with defeat and disgrace. Nor was there one person among the leaders of the present movement that had not been notoriously connected with the ruin of the royal cause.* While, therefore, assistance was to be accepted, from whatever quarter it came, the promises and professions of these covenanting nobles should yet be received with the utmost caution, and their conditions of service strictly scrutinized ;

* These leaders, after being sifted of Argyle, Loudon, Sir Archibald Johnston, and their friends, were Hamilton, Lanerick, Lindsay, Roxburgh, Lauderdale, and Callender. Some of the papers that passed between Henrietta Maria and the Engagers, are yet preserved at Cumbernauld, and will be printed with the Wigton Papers already referred to.

that, for his own part, he would willingly serve with them, and give up to them all his laurels, could he believe them to be sincerely penitent, or safe to deal with ; as it was, he strenuously recommended the raising of such an independent and unquestionably loyal army as that for which he had engaged when he left Scotland ; and this array he was willing himself to lead, either in co-operation with the Engagers, or to their discomfiture, as the case might require.

Such generally were the views which the marquis submitted to Henrietta at Paris, early in the spring of 1648. But the Presbyterian influence was paramount in her councils, and the queen cast the fate of her husband and his kingdoms entirely upon a faction at once so weak and dishonest, that their ruling passion was rather hatred of Montrose than love for Charles and the monarchy. The Graham now determined to act for himself, in support of the king. While Mazarine and De Retz, and even his friend Lord Napier, supposed him absorbed with the idea of acquiring illustrious titles and commands under foreign princes, his mind had never wandered from that which seems to have been his destiny ; and he was as faithful and single-minded in his *passion* to serve Charles, as the disinterested lover in his own poem, from which we have so often quoted :—

Let not their oaths, like volleys shot,
Make any breach at all,
Nor smoothness of their language plot
Which way to scale the wall ;
Nor balls of *wildfire love* consume
The shrine which I adore,—
For if such smoke about thee fume,
I'll never love thee more.

The golden laws of love shall be
Upon this pillar hung,—
A simple heart ; a single eye ;
A true and constant tongue ;
Let no man to more love pretend
Than he has hearts in store ;
True love begun shall never end ;
Love one and love no more.

Casting aside all his brilliant prospects in France, he suddenly quitted Paris about the end of March 1648, and sought the Emperor of Germany, where he knew that a field-marshal's commission awaited him ; and this he thought the most likely means of promoting his present views for the protection of his sovereign.

Such was the state of affairs, and the position of Montrose, when Lord Napier wrote the following letter to his lady in Scotland, who then little dreamt that in a few fleeting months she was to procure, at the risk of her own life, the heart of the gallant marquis, from his mutilated body buried under the common gibbet within sight of her dwelling.*

“ Brussels, 14th June 1648.

“ MY DEAREST HEART,—I did forbear these two months to write unto you, till I should hear from my Lord Montrose, that I might have done it for good and all. But fearing that may take some time, I resolved to give you an account of all my lord's proceedings, and the reasons which did invite me to come to this place.

“ Montrose then (as you did hear)† was in treaty with the French, who, in my opinion, did offer him very honourable conditions, which were these :—First, that he should be general to the Scots in France, and lieutenant-general to the royal army, when he joined with them, commanding all mareschals of the field. As likewise to be captain of the gens-d'armes, with twelve thousand crowns a-year of pension, besides his pay ; and assurance the next year to be Mareschal of France, and captain of the king's own guard, which is a place bought and sold at a hundred and fifty thousand crowns. But these two last places were not insert amongst his other conditions,

* Merchiston castle, which overlooks the Borough Muir, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

† It is to be regretted that no more of this interesting correspondence has been preserved.

only promised him by the Cardinal Mazarine ; but the others were all articles of their capitulation, which I did see in writing, and used all the inducements and persuasions I could to make him embrace them. He seemed to hearken unto me, which caused me at that time to show you that I hoped shortly to acquaint you with things of more certainty, and to better purpose, than I had done formerly. But while I was thus in hope and daily expectation of his present agreement with them, he did receive advertisements from Germany, that he would be welcome to the emperor. Upon which he took occasion to send for me, and began to quarrel with the conditions were offered him, and said that any employment below a Mareschal of France was inferior to him, and that the French had become enemies to our king, and did labour still to foment the differences betwixt him and his subjects,—that he might not be capable to assist the Spaniard, whom they thought he was extremely inclined to favour,—and that if he did engage with them he would be forced to connive and wink at his prince's ruin ; and for these reasons he would let the treaty desert, and go into Germany, where he would be honourably appointed ; which sudden resolution did extremely trouble and astonish me. I was very desirous he should settle in France, and did use again all the arguments I could to make him embrace such profitable conditions ; as, if he had been once in charge, I am confident, in a very short time he should have been one of the most considerable strangers in Europe. For, believe it, they had a huge esteem of him ; some eminent persons there came to see him, who refused to make the first visit to the ambassadors extraordinary of Denmark and Sweden,—yet did not stand to salute him first, with all the respect that could be imagined.

“ But to the purpose. He, seeing me a little ill satisfied with the course he was going to take, did begin to dispute the matter with me, and, I confess, convinced me so *with reason*, that I rested content, and was desirous he should *execute his*



Engraving of Bell Esq. from the original by Jameson in the possession of the Lord Napier.

— it was over Lady of Montrose and his
 Mother was like ye pope and the church
 who wote be infopazabls; —

My dearest lyke

only yours

Napier

*resolution with all imaginable speed ;** and did agree that I should stay at my exercises in Paris till the end of the month, and go often to court, make visits, and ever in public places; at comedies, and such things, still letting the word go that my uncle was gone to the country for his health ; which was always believed so long as they saw me, for it was ever said that *Montrose and his nephew were like the pope and the church, who would be inseparable*. Whereas if I had gone away with him, and left my exercises abruptly, in the middle of the month, his course would have been presently discovered ; for how soon I had been missed, they would instantly have judged me to be gone somewhere with him ; then search had been made every where ; and if he had been taken going to any of the house of Austria who were their enemies, you may think they would have staid him, which might have been dangerous both to his person, credit, and fortune. So there was no way to keep his course close, but for me to stay behind him at my exercises, (as I had done for a long time before), till I should hear he were out of all hazard ; which I did, according to all the instructions he gave me.

“ The first letter I received from him was dated from Geneva. So when I perceived he was out of French ground, I resolved to come here to Flanders, where I might have freedom of correspondence with him, as also liberty to go to him when it pleased him to send for me, which I could not do conveniently in France. For I was afraid, how soon his course should chance to be discovered, that they might seek assurance of me and others not to engage with their enemy, which is ordinary in such cases. Yet would I never have given them any, but thought best to prevent it. And besides, I had been at so great a charge, for a month after his way-going, with staying at court and keeping of a coach there, which I hired, and coming back to Paris, and living at a greater rate than I

* See Appendix for refutation of Bishop Burnet's calumny, on the subject of Montrose's quitting Paris at this time.

did formerly (all which was his desire, yet did consume much moneys), and fearing to be short, that I did resolve rather to come here and live privately, than to live in a more inferior way in France than I had done formerly. So these gentlemen which belonged to my lord, hearing of my intention, would, by any means, go along ; and we went all together to Haver-de-grace, where we took ship for Middleburgh, and from thence came here, where we are daily expecting Montrose's commands ; which, how soon I receive them, you shall be advertised by him who intreats you to believe that he shall study most carefully to conserve the quality, he has hitherto inviolably kept, of continuing,—My dearest life, only yours,

“ NAPIER.”

Postscript.

“ MY HEART,—I received letters from you that came by France, wherein you desire to know if I have taken on any debt in France, as my friends did conceive. This answer I do yet give you, that my fortune, nor no friend, shall ever be troubled with the charge of any thing I did spend there. At my parting from France, there went in my company above fifteen that did belong to my Lord Montrose ; amongst which was Mons. Hay, Kinnoul's brother, and several others of good quality ; we were forced to lie long at Rouen and Haver, for passage, so that our journey to Brussels was above a thousand francs ; and now we have been near six weeks in it, which has consumed both my moneys and theirs ; but we expect letters from Montrose shortly, and bills of exchange, till which time we intend to go out of this place ; and ere I be very troublesome to you, I shall live upon one meal a-day. I have been most civilly used in this town by many of good quality, and was the last day invited by the Jesuists to their college, where I received handsome entertainment. After long discourse, they told me that, if I liked, the king of Spain should maintain me. But I showed them that I would not live by any kind of Christendom's charity. They said it was no charity,

for many of eminent places received allowance from him. I told them, if I did him *service*, what he bestowed upon me *then* I might justly take ; but to be a burden to him otherwise, I would never do it. But I know their main end was to try if they could persuade me to turn Catholic ; but I shall, God willing, resist all their assaults, as well as their fellows who plied me so hard in Paris. Another reason why I would remove from this town is, that I received advertisement, both from Paris and the court of St Germain, that it was resolved the Prince of Wales should go to Scotland, and had already received his pass from the Archduke Leopold to go by Brussels to Holland, where he was to take ship. So, hearing of the prince's coming here, and knowing the undeserved favourable opinion he had of me, which he often and publicly professed, made me fear he should desire me to go with him to Scotland ; which you know I could not do, for I was not assured that *they would keep truth* ; and to refuse the prince, who is my master, and to whom I am so infinitely obliged, would give ground to some of my uncle's unfriends to say, hereafter, that I refused to hazard with the prince, or take one fortune with him. So I resolve to shift myself timeously from this place, and shun such a business, that would give enemies advantage. But if it were not for my credit,* which would suffer by my coming to Scotland, and though I were not commanded by the prince, I would go six times as far elsewhere, through all dangers imaginable, *only to see you*. I confess I have satisfaction in nothing whilst we live at such distance ; for though I should enjoy all those things which others do esteem felicities, yet, if I do not enjoy your company, they are rather crosses than pleasures to me ; and I should be more contented to live with you meanly, in the deserts of Arabia, than without you in the most fruitful place in the world, plentifully, and with all the delights it could afford. You may possibly think these *compliments*, as you showed me once before, when I wrote

* His covenanting uncle, Bowhopple, and other relations, had become caution for him when he was permitted to go into exile.

kindly to you. But, God knows, they flow from a real and ingenuous heart. And if it had not been for waiting on Montrose (which I hope I shall have no reason to repent, for he hath sworn often *to prefer my weal to his own*), I might before this time have settled somewhere. For, just before my parting from Paris, I received letters from some friends at Madrid in Spain, that, if I pleased, I should have a commission for a regiment, and ten pistoles of levy-moneys for every man; which was a good condition, for I could have gained at least forty thousand merks upon the levying of those men. But I hope my uncle will provide no worse for me. The reason why I am so impatient to engage is, to have your company; for I am sure you will not refuse to come to me when you hear I am able honourably to maintain you. I pray you do not show this letter except to very confident friends, and that which is written after my subscription *to none*.—Lord be with you.

“Be pleased, dear heart, to let me have one thing which I did almost forget—your picture, in the breadth of a sixpence,—without a case, for they may be had better and handsomer here,—and I will wear it upon a ribbon under my doublet, so long as it (or I) lasts.

“I cannot express how much I am obliged to Sir Patrick Drummond and his lady, at Camphire; the particulars you shall know with the first occasion.

“Send your picture as I desire it,—the other is so big as I cannot wear it about me. *Montrose, at his way-going, gave me his picture,** which I caused put in a gold case of the same bigness I desire your’s.”

Montrose arrived at Geneva in the beginning of April, and travelled through Switzerland, Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria. Not finding the emperor at Vienna, he followed him to Prague, where his imperial majesty most graciously received him,

* This precious portrait of Montrose, “in the breadth of a sixpence,” has been lost sight of. It may yet exist abroad.

bestowed upon him the patent of a Field-marshal of the Empire, and honoured him with every mark of consideration.* The object of the marquis was not his own aggrandizement in foreign service, but to save Charles the First. Hence he had rejected the brilliant offers of France; and the reasons which satisfied his nephew were, that he intended to make interest with Ferdinand to be commissioned to raise some independent regiments, and to be employed in those quarters from whence he could most readily and effectually assist his own king. His negotiation was completely successful. He was invested with the command, immediately under the emperor himself, of levies to be raised on the borders of Flanders; and at the same time he obtained from him letters of recommendation to his brother Leopold, archduke of Austria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Thus accredited, in order to avoid the hostile armies in his way he proceeded by a circuitous route to Flanders. From Vienna he went by Presburg to Hungary, and so through Prussia to Dantzic, where he embarked for Denmark, and spent some time with his Danish majesty. He was received at that court, and wherever he paused on his journey, as a person of the highest distinction. From thence he passed into Jutland, where he embarked for Groningen in Friesland, and next proceeded to Brussels. But the archduke had retired to Tournay, not long after the defeat inflicted upon him at Lens by the Prince of Condé. Montrose remained with Leopold until the latter returned to Brussels, when he accompanied him thither, and so rejoined Lord Napier and other friends in that town. This was towards the end of the year 1648.

Meanwhile the royal cause, in the hands of Hamilton and Argyle, had become involved in the treachery, ruin, and dis-

* This patent, conferred upon Montrose by the Emperor Ferdinand III., is dated at the Castle of Lintz, on the Danube, 12th . . . 1648. *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest. The month is torn off, but it was probably June or July. It mentions Montrose's "famous repute and experience in war."

grace, which from the first had been predicted. In the month of July, while the loyal marquis was with the Emperor of Germany, the duke crossed the borders at the head of the finest martial array that Scotland had yet sent forth. The fate of this army is well known. Upon the 17th of August, Cromwell and Lambert arrested its progress near Preston in Lancashire ; and the only resistance they met with was from the gallant cavalier, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the same who once attempted to join Montrose, but was destined to serve under a very different Scottish commander. Baillie, the old covenanting general, at the head of a large portion of the scattered forces, surrendered to Cromwell, and caused his troops to lay down arms without striking a blow. He had been previously deserted by Hamilton, who, with all his cavalry, sought safety in flight, having scarcely paused to see the enemy. Some of his dragoons also quitted him, and joined another section of the army under Monro, who was not in the field, and now hurried to Scotland. The duke himself was made prisoner, at the head of a body of horse with which our hero would have cut his way to the Tweed. And so *ambiguously* did this unhappy nobleman,—who, Clarendon tells us, “ was full of continual discourse of battles under the king of Sweden,”—give up himself and his comrades, that it became a matter of dispute whether he had surrendered to the country troops, to the Lord Gray of Groby, or to some of Lambert’s colonels sent to capitulate with him. That numerous and well-appointed army proved, under his command, infinitely less terrible than the few ill-armed caterans with whom his rival first descended from the mountains ; and thus ended his grace’s championship, taken up at the eleventh hour, in behalf of his unfortunate master. For this miserable attempt, engendered betwixt emulation of Montrose and competition with Argyle, and feebly nursed into momentary animation by an equivocal affection for his sovereign, he soon paid that forfeit upon which his character as a loyalist has since continued to rest.

Nor did his brother Lanerick sustain the cause in Scotland

with more credit to himself or benefit to the king. On the capture of his brother, he became commander-in-chief of the army of the Engagement, and being joined by Monro, was at the head of 5000 or 6000 foot, chiefly veterans, and upwards of 4000 horse, all well appointed. To these was opposed Argyle, who, on the news of the rout at Preston, had raised a rabble host, chiefly composed of his own retainers and west-country fanatics, and amounting to little more than 600 foot, and 100 horsemen. With this force, trusting to the imbecility of the Hamiltons, and the fame of his general, David Leslie, he attempted to keep the country for Cromwell. Nor was he much mistaken; for although surprised in Stirling by Monro, and obliged to ride eighteen miles for his life,* which he did as usual without fighting, he afterwards contrived to effect by diplomacy what he could not accomplish by arms. Lanerick entered into a capitulation, and agreed to disband his army, to the disgust and indignation of the loyal portion of it, who now loudly deplored the absence of Montrose.†

Argyle, while thus triumphant after his kind, invited Cromwell into Scotland; and there the *Dictator* received the future *Protector* with every mark of respect and esteem. He not only entertained him in the castle of Edinburgh publicly, with regal pomp and magnificence, but they had their private meetings at the Lady Home's, in the Canongate, whose house became an object of mysterious curiosity, from the general report at the time, that the design to execute Charles I. was there first discussed and approved. The other noblemen who attended this infamous court, were Loudon the chancellor, the Earl of Lothian, Lords Arbuthnot, Elcho, and Burleigh. These events happened in the autumn of 1648.

There is yet preserved in the Montrose charter-chest a curious paper, endorsed, "Several cypher keys," and entitled

* He went to dine at the Earl of Mar's that day,—doubtless a most unwelcome guest,—but took to flight "while the meat was setting on the table."—Guthry, p. 290.

† Wishart.

"Montrose's Key, 1648." This characteristic remnant will be found in the Appendix. Whether he had really used it as a cypher, or amused himself with its composition as a *jeu d'esprit*, it is not now easy to determine. That it must have been composed between the date of Hamilton's capture in August and his execution in the month of March following, appears by this, that the covert name for the duke is first "*Craige a perill*," which is scored out, and then there is substituted "*Captain Luckless*." He is not so severe upon Argyle as might have been expected; the phrase "*Ruling Elder*" being his first idea, which appears to have been rejected for "*Merchant of Middleburgh*." But he does not spare David Leslie, whom he transmutes into "*The Executioner*;" alluding, it is probable, not merely to the cold-blooded massacre of the unarmed Irish at Philiphaugh, but to another incident equally discreditable to the kirk militant. After Montrose had disbanded his army, Argyle went with this general and some of his regiments to take vengeance upon Sir Allaster Macdonald, somewhere in the western isles. This last had left a garrison of three hundred men in the house of Dunavertie in Kintyre, and these, after a stout resistance, were compelled from want of water to surrender at discretion. Forty of their number had been already put to the sword, and Leslie was inclined to be satisfied; but, besides Argyle, he was accompanied by the reverend Mr John Nevoy or Nave, who demanded a larger sacrifice. Sir James Turner, acting under Leslie at the time, declares that he cannot pretend to say what secret advice the general may have had from Argyle, but that "Mr John Nave, who was appointed by the commission of the kirk to wait on him as his chaplain, never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed; yea and threatened him with the curses which befell Saul for sparing the Amalekites; for with them his theology taught him to compare the Dunavertie men." The horrible tragedy of Philiphaugh was then repeated: and, adds another contemporary, "as the marquis and Lesly, with Mr Nevoy, were walking over the ancles in blood, Lesly turned about and said, 'Now, Mr John, have ye not once gotten your

fill of blood ?' This was reported by many that heard it."* To return to Montrose's Key : the General Assembly is disguised under "*Goodwife that wears the breeches*," and the parliament under "*John Thomson's man*," because the termagant kirk had recently got the better of the hen-pecked parliament, and superseded the Committee of Estates in the whole government of the country. The Chancellor Loudon he at first terms "*Whigamore*," but afterwards substitutes "*Whirlegig*." Turner mentions, that on the morning after the rout at Preston the shattered army was on *Whigam Moor*, near the town of that name, through which they had been chased by the enemy, a few miles from Preston ; and then he adds, "but so soon as the news of our defeat came to Scotland, Argyle and the kirk's party rose in arms every mother's son ; and this was called the *Whigammer rode*."† This western insurrection was led by Loudon, the creature of Argyle ; yet he had been one of the commissioners to the Isle of Wight, and mainly instrumental in persuading the king to trust entirely to that very Engagement, against which the chancellor himself was now in arms. Guthry declares that his base ingratitude was generally abhorred at the time ; and Turner says he was "playing fast and loose with both parties." Hence Montrose had called him *Whirlegig*. The fanatical Procurator of the Kirk he considered to be more or less insane, and therefore designated him "*Bees*." His own name he disguises under "*Venture fair*."

* Guthry, p. 243.

† Memoirs, p. 47. It is not very apparent whether Turner intends to apply this term to the whole affair, or merely to Argyle's rising, as is generally understood. But probably he meant the *raid of Whigam Moor* ; like the *raid of Turreff* ; or the *raid of Haddo*. This word, however, I have not seen explained in this way before. Sir Walter Scott says : "Argyle's insurrection was called the *Whigamore's Raid*, from the word *whig*, *whig*, that is, *get on*, *get on*, which is used by the western peasants in driving their horses,—a name destined to become the distinction of a powerful party in British history."—*Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i. p. 471.

CHAPTER XIV.

Montrose corresponds with the Prince of Wales and Clarendon at the Hague—Receives Intelligence of the Murder of Charles I.—Its Effect upon Him—His metrical Vow—Charles II. proclaimed in Scotland—Policy of Argyle—Anti-monarchical Nature of the Presbyterian Constitutions, and vicious Power of the covenanting Democracy—Montrose joins the King at the Hague—Is commissioned by Charles II. as Lieutenant-governor and Captain-general of Scotland—Is opposed in his Counsels by Lanerick and Lauderdale, and the Commissioners from Scotland—Their virulent Animosity to Montrose—Lauderdale's involuntary Refutation of his own Calumny—Montrose's Letter of Advice to the young King—Who goes to meet the Queen-mother in France—Montrose accredited as Ambassador-extraordinary to the foreign Powers—Dorislus assassinated—Montrose not implicated in that Violence—Visits the Northern Courts—His private Instructions from the King—Publishes his celebrated Declaration in various Languages—Its Severity against the Covenanters—The King at Jersey—Again writes to Montrose, and urges him not to relax his Exertions for his Descent on Scotland—Sends him the George and Garter—His Majesty's Letter to Lord Napier—Montrose lands in Scotland under adverse Circumstances—Is surprised and overwhelmed by the covenanting Forces—Severely wounded, but escapes to the Hills—Discovers himself to Macleod of Assint, who betrays him, and delivers him up to David Leslie—Leslie's inhuman Conduct—Montrose allowed to see his two Sons at Kinnaird—Is taken to Edinburgh and delivered into the Hands of Argyle and the Presbyterian Government.

IN the month of January 1649, the Prince of Wales was residing at the Hague, his chief adviser being Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards the Chancellor Clarendon. Montrose, when he returned to Brussels with the emperor, had made an offer of his services to the prince, who acknowledged it by a letter

that is not now to be found, but to which the following is the marquis's reply :—

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

“ I received your highness's, wherewith you were pleased to honour me. As for my humble and loyal affection to your highness's service, I hope there can be no fate, nor fatal misinformations,* can ever put it to a peradventure in your highness's thoughts ; otherwise I should think what I have done and suffered, and am yet able to act for your highness's service, had rencountred a very hard fate. For what your highness is pleased to mention touching that young man's expression to you, I gave him no warrant to trouble your lordship with such like ; but he was prompted by the *impatience of others* : Yet there can be nothing said but I am most ready to own it wherein the least point of your highness's service can be concerned ; and have, according to your highness's command, appointed with your Chancellor of Exchequer where to meet. Till when, I shall only beg your highness to believe that, as *I never had passion upon earth so strong* as that to do the king your father service, so shall it be my study, if your highness command me, to show it redoubled for the recovery of you ; and that I shall never have friend, end, nor *enemy*, but as your pleasure, and the advancement of your service shall require : Wherein, if your highness shall but vouchsafe a little faith unto your loyal servants, and stand at guard with others, your affairs can soon be whole. So, humbly expecting your highness's further commands, with all the secrecy your highness imposes, I am, sir, your highness's most humble, faithful, constant, zealous servant,

“ MONTROSE.

“ *Brussels, 28th January 1649.*”†

Upon the 20th of January the chancellor had also written to

* See before, p. 14. † *Orig.*—Clarendon Papers. See vol. ii. p. 470.

the marquis, stating that "the prince hath vouchsafed to trust me with some overtures he hath lately received from your lordship, and hath given me a *private* command to wait on your lordship in any place, and at any time you please to appoint. If I were enough known to your lordship, you would believe me to be very glad of this employment, and to have the opportunity of kissing the hands of a person that hath acted so glorious a part in the world. I shall greedily wait your summons, and attend you accordingly." Sir Edward adds, that as "in this conjuncture the highest secrecy is absolutely necessary," some place of meeting should be agreed upon where their conference would be least likely to be observed by inquisitive Scotsmen, inimical to their views, with whom the Low Countries abounded. Montrose, in a reply dated 28th January, the same day on which he had written to the prince, appoints Sevenbergen, in the neighbourhood of the Hague, as the scene of their interview, whither he proposed to proceed as soon as possible.* But before this conference could take place, it was known at Brussels that, on the 30th of January 1649, Charles I. had fallen beneath the axe of the revolution. The effect which this intelligence produced upon Montrose was remarkable. His chaplain, who had joined him in that city, and was an eye-witness to the fact, relates that "his grief quite overwhelmed him, so that he fainted and fell down in the midst of his attendants, all his limbs becoming stiff, as if he had been quite dead." When restored to his senses, he broke out into the most passionate expressions of grief, declaring that life would henceforth be a burden to him. This state of his feelings shows how sincere were the expressions he had recently addressed to the prince,

* Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 469. It is remarkable that the chancellor's own letters, and also some in the Ormond Collection, vol. i. pp. 232, 263, contradict what has been given to the world from the Clarendon MSS. as his History of these transactions. Compare Clarendon's History, vol. vi. p. 285, with the Clarendon Papers, and the Ormond Papers, as above.

"I never had passion on earth so strong, as that to do the king your father service." The worthy divine succeeded in rousing him from this state of despair, by the argument, that it was the duty of all good subjects to avenge so foul a murder, and to devote their lives to the restoration of the young king. "It is indeed," exclaimed Montrose, "and, therefore, I swear before God, angels, and men, that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to avenging the death of the royal martyr, and re-establishing his son upon his father's throne." But he shut himself up in a retired apartment for two days, during which he refused to see his most intimate friends. On the third day Dr Wishart obtained access to his bed-chamber, and found him still brooding over his vow, which he had thus versified during the interval,—

Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate
My grief, and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain
As it should deluge once again:
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands, than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.*

* The facts stated above are derived from the translations of the second part of Dr Wishart's history, also originally written in Latin. The Latin version of this part was never printed, and unfortunately has disappeared. The first translation of it was published in 1720, in the edition of the narrative brought out by Mr Adams; and there it is mentioned, that the author, on entering Montrose's apartment, found his metrical vow written on "a small piece of paper." In the appendix to that edition, however, where the lines are given, it is said that they were written with the point of his sword. The verses are also preserved in the contemporary MS. of Bishop Guthry, but he does not mention the latter fact. There is a fuller, and apparently more free translation, of Wishart's second part, in the edition published by Mr Ruddiman in 1756, where no mention is made of the manner in which Montrose had written the lines. The chaplain's spirited translation of them is all that can now be found in Latin of the second part of his history.

*Carole! si possem lacrymis æquare dolorem,
Ipse meum fatumque tuum, tua funera, fierem*

The sale of the king to the parliament, followed by his imprisonment and death, had gone so far to rouse a feeling of indignation throughout the degraded and enslaved community of Scotland, that it now required the utmost art of the Dictator to preserve his sway. With the aid of Cromwell he had scattered the army of the imbecile Engagers; but he saw that there existed in the country a smothered spirit decidedly hostile to the anarchy now raging in both kingdoms. Accordingly, he made a virtue of necessity, by seeming to take a lead in the measure of proclaiming Charles the Second in the north. This policy, indeed, on his part, was not likely to interfere with his own government; for it was peremptorily and even insolently announced, as the only condition upon which his majesty's accession would be recognised, that he should become a Presbyterian and covenanting king, a proposition, as Argyle well knew, involving a contradiction in terms.* That peculiar model of the church, claiming

Ut tellus nitidis rursum stagnaret ab undis :
Sanguis at ille tuus quum vocem ad sidera tollat,
Atque manus Briarei mage quam Argi lumina poscat,
Exequias celebrabo tuas clangore tubarum,
Et tumulto inscribam profuso sanguine carmen.

* The chancellor thus writes to Mr Richard Harding, from Jersey, 2d May 1647. "I assure you I am very glad the clergy in Scotland carry themselves so impetuously. It is a spirit impossible to be severed from the Presbytery, and will sooner convert the nobility and gentry of Scotland than all the reason that can be spoken to them; and they will find all the power they have wrested from the king will do them no good, if the *jus divinum* of that tribe be suffered to conclude that Jesus Christ hath trusted *them only* with the advancement of his kingdom. There is no question the clergy will always have an extraordinary influence upon the people; and therefore (except there be an army kept on foot to govern both, as you will find there is in all places where the clergy have no power), there must be a way to govern the clergy *absolutely*, and keep it subject to the rules and orders of state; which never was, nor never can be, without bishops; so that in truth civil prudence would make unanswerable arguments for that Order if piety did not."—*Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii. p. 365. If the great chancellor had to revise these observations in the year 1840, he would find nothing to alter.

as it did a divine right of rule superior to the state and independent of the law, necessarily became an instrument in the hands of usurpers, whose object was to overturn the existing order of civil government. Even their much vaunted principle, of parity among the ministers of religion, was a mere pretext, and grossly contradicted in practice; for a few of the least scrupulous, possessing certain powers which enabled them to excite the people, became the persecutors of their more Christian brethren, whom they drove from their pulpits. In a word, those political clergymen were alternately tools and tyrants among the higher class of society, and gloried in nothing so much as an opportunity of insulting the sovereign to his face.* The unconstitutional nature of the church courts, too, both engendered and supported this vicious system. Under pretence of being amenable in matters ecclesiastical to no civil power, and somewhat impiously referring all the wild extravagancies and human vanity of their judicatories to the "prerogative of Christ,"† these were not only convened in their various forms without consent and contrary to the command of the supreme power in the state, but they arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of determining what matters belonged properly to their jurisdictions. Thus the most dishonest and revolutionary spirits of the age, adopting for the occasion the fanatical language which was more natural to the minds of some of the weaker tools with whom they worked, were very soon enabled virtually to bring the whole affairs

* Charles I. rose sublime above an attempt of the kind, when in the hands of the Scots army at Newcastle. The preacher, after directing some personal reproaches against the king, gave out this psalm :

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself;
Thy wicked deeds to praise.

His majesty stood up, and called for that which begins,—

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For men would me devour.—*Whitelocke*, p. 234.

The congregation obeyed his majesty.

† See *Baillie's Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 195, 199.

of the state under the cognisance of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. These packed tribunals, openly disdaining the trammels of law and the ordinary rules of justice, tyrannized over all in the "cause of freedom," and worked iniquity in the name of God!*

Two most powerful means, born of democracy and fanaticism, were chiefly instrumental in raising the Reformed Church of Scotland to that arbitrary power in which she rivalled, and really seemed to imitate, the corruption of Rome. These were, the oaths enjoined by the Covenanters and their sentence of excommunication. All who did not flee their unhappy country, and had not sufficient personal influence to protect themselves from every species of persecution, were compelled to swear to the Solemn League; and then, every act or sentiment distasteful to the rulers of the movement was apt to be denounced as a "divisive motion," or a "breach of the Covenant," and proceeded against accordingly. The penalty attached to these undefined delinquencies was either death or a complete disqualification for every civil office; while the parliament, with the more vicious offshoots termed *Committees*, became mere accessaries to this monstrous clerical domination. Criminal processes, instituted at the secret nod of Argyle or the violent instigation of his tool the Procurator of the Kirk, voluminous libels composed by that fanatical lawyer and others of the profession who joined him in his agitations, in which opprobrious terms were substituted for relevant accusations, sufficed, under this system, to bring even the most conscientious of their opponents into the painful situation of "delinquents." Whatever might be the station, or integrity, or talent of the party accused,

* In a letter from London, dated 14th October 1645, Principal Baillie thus maintains the divine right of Presbytery, by a mode of speech and reasoning peculiar to the learning of the Covenant: "Great wrestling have we for the erecting of our Presbytery. It *must* be a divine thing to which so much resistance is made by men of all sorts; yet, by God's help, we will very speedily see it set up, in spite of the devil. We have great difficulties on all hands; yet if the Lord continue to blink in mercy upon Scotland, they will diminish."—Vol. ii. p. 159.

nothing more was required to destroy him as a public man and to deprive him of the security of his life, than that he was included in their calumnious catalogue of *Incendiaries*, or *Plotters*, or *Malignants*. But the sentence of excommunication, the weapon more directly wielded by the Presbyterian popedom, was that which most terrified and subdued the people, and was not without its effect upon the higher classes. The zealous ministers inculcated too successfully the doctrine, that this sentence of the covenanted church was a formal delivery of the soul into the hands of the devil, and which would surely take effect unless the culprit were *relaxed*, that is, unless the sentence were formally remitted before death by the Church herself. Besides this alleged effect in eternity, which by many of the vulgar was implicitly believed,* the temporal consequences were seriously detrimental to all who were thus denounced, and absolutely ruinous to many even in the lowest ranks. It was this tyrannical expedient above all others that enabled the clerical agitators to disorganize society, by tampering with all the social obligations that bind it together; and this was the system of *monarchy* which Argyle now offered to Charles II.

Before the covenanting commissioners arrived at the Hague, Montrose had joined the young king there, some time in the month of February. He strenuously advised him to reject their propositions at once, and to put no faith in the declarations of the rebellious government of Scotland; and such, indeed, appears to have been Charles's own views and natural inclina-

* The ministers who tormented Montrose on the eve of his execution, and on the scaffold, promised to relax him from excommunication if he would fall down and worship them; and when he rejected their mediation, they signified to him their "fearful apprehension, that what is bound on earth, God will bind in heaven." In the reply of the Committee of Estates to his Declaration, before his descent on Scotland in 1650, and which reply is signed and no doubt composed by Sir Archibald Johnston, the marquis is thus denounced: "That viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the Estates of Parliament have long since declared traitor, *the Church hath delivered into the hands of the devil*, and the nation doth generally detest and abhor."

tions at this time. In the charter-chest of the Montrose family there is yet preserved an original commission from him, referring to "divers traitorous and seditious persons of our kingdom of Scotland, who have levied war against our late father of happy memory," and narrating that "reposing special trust and confidence in your approved wisdom, courage, fidelity, and great abilities,—whereof you have given hitherto most extraordinary and undeniable proof,—we do by these presents name, constitute, ordain, and authorize you, the said James marquis of Montrose, to be our lieutenant-governor and captain-general of all our forces raised or to be raised in our kingdom of Scotland." His majesty then proceeds to confer the most ample powers for the levying of forces, both abroad and at home, and for making laws, ordinances, and proclamations, in prosecuting the war against his rebellious subjects, with the entire command and governorship of all Scotland, and the power of bestowing knighthood upon whomsoever he might think worthy of the honour. The deed is certified in the usual manner, as "given under our sign manual and privy signet, at the Hague, the fourth day of March, in the first year of our reign."*

Shortly after the date of this commission, however, two noblemen arrived at court, whose principal object was, not to redeem the fortunes of their sovereign, but to thwart the policy and effect the disgrace of the marquis. These were the Earls of Lanerick and Lauderdale. The former, who had just become Duke of Hamilton, in consequence of the death of his brother,† was considered by Clarendon, and also by Mon-

* This commission, which occupies a folio sheet of parchment has very much the appearance of being all written by the hand of Charles II. himself. It is unquestionably superscribed by the king, and there had been a seal attached ; but it is not countersigned.

† Executed in London on the 9th of March 1649. In "Montrose and the Covenanters," vol. ii. p. 521, it is inadvertently stated, that Hamilton was executed before the king.

trose himself, to be naturally of a much nobler and honester disposition than his predecessor, but that, at first misled by him, he had latterly become a tool in the hands of the popular party, and was now entirely directed by his associate Lauderdale. Of this last personage it is almost unnecessary to remind the reader, that he was one of the most depraved characters of his age, and totally without principle, whether considered as a Covenanter in the reign of Charles I., or as an enemy to that party a few years afterwards. These noblemen, although they professed that they had been obliged to flee their country as enemies of Argyle, now exerted all their influence to induce the king to expel from court the *excommunicated* Montrose, and to accept the degrading propositions of the factious government. A correspondent of the good Sir Edward Nicholas, probably either the chancellor, or Sir Robert Long, secretary to the young sovereign, thus writes from the Hague, of date 16th March 1649: "The commissioners that have been so long expected by some from Scotland are not yet come. These lords that are here already, Lanerick and Lauderdale, who were fain to flee for their *moderation*, abating not an ace of their damned Covenant in all their discourses, why we should be so fond as to expect any thing but mischief from the rest, I know not. The Marquis of Montrose is likewise still here, and of clean another temper, abhorring even the most moderate party of his countrymen; and it is *the opinion and wishes of all men* that his majesty would employ him, as the man of the *clearest honour, courage, and affection* to his service,"*

When those commissioners did arrive they proved to be of the most bigoted of the church faction, while the addresses and instructions which they carried were such as to alarm and disgust every rational statesman. The letter of the Committee of Estates to his majesty, was entirely composed of the most violent abuse of "James Graham, sometime Earl of Montrose," whom they insolently required that the king

* Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 232.

should drive from his presence, as one who had been delivered into the hands of the devil by the just judgment of the Kirk.* To acknowledge both the Covenants under his hand and seal, and to engage himself to impose these nefarious bonds upon all his subjects throughout his dominions, were two of the conditions on which they insisted in return for the acknowledgment of his throne. In all these demands the commissioners were vehemently seconded by Hamilton and Lauderdale, who entered with satisfaction into their abuse of Montrose; carrying their audacity so far as to refuse to remain in the presence-chamber in company with "that excommunicated traitor James Graham," and to remonstrate with his majesty for having appointed the "excommunicated malignant," George Wishart, to preach before him. All which, says Hyde, so highly offended and disgusted the king, that he treated the marquis with the more marked respect, and listened the more attentively to his excellent chaplain.† Lauderdale himself, upon one occasion, was constrained to bear direct testimony against the dishonest and senseless calumny poured upon the great soldier. Clarendon narrates that "he to whom this unreasonable animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great fomentor and prosecutor of it, was the Earl of Lauderdale, whose fiery spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the council conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into a passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him 'to inform him what foul offence the Marquis of Montrose had ever committed, that should hinder those to make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the rebels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not more

* The letter is in the Clarendon collection, vol. ii. p. 474. It is from first to last a disgusting anathema against Montrose.

† The commissioners were, the Earl of Cassilis, the Laird of Brodie, Mr Alexander Jaffray, bailie of Aberdeen, and Mr Robert Barclay, provost of Irvine; for the Estates. The Kirk sent Mr George Winram of Liberton, ruling elder, with Mr Robert Baillie (so often quoted), and Mr James Wood, ministers. They sailed from Kirkcaldy on Saturday, 17th March 1649.—*Balfour*, vol. iii. p. 392.

desire the king's restitution than he did.' The earl told him, calmly enough, 'that he could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Montrose was guilty of in the time he made a war in Scotland; that he never gave quarter to any man, but pursued all the advantages he ever got with the utmost outrage and cruelty; that he had in one battle killed fifteen hundred of *one family*, of the Campbells, of the blood and name of *Argyle*;* and that he had utterly rooted out several names, and entire noble families.' The other told him, 'that it was the nature and conditions of war that quarter was

* There was the tender point. Argyle himself had obtained letters of *fire and sword*, dated 12th June 1640, from the covenanting government, against the loyalists in Scotland, which he exercised to the utmost extent, long before Montrose's wars commenced. And one of the grounds of the process against this last in 1641 was, that he had acted too mercifully, and with too much forbearance towards the family of Airly, when he took possession of their house in name of the Covenant. Principal Baillie's only complaint against him, when a *covenanting* general, was, that he was *too lenient*. I find, in the Montrose charter-chest, a contemporary copy of the letters of exoneration which Argyle obtained from the government, for his destruction of "the bonnie house of Airlie;" and they completely substantiate all that has ever been said of his cruelty on such expeditions. They bear that his commission had been "necessary for the *weill of religion*," in order that the whole people of Scotland "might be brought to the kirks," otherwise, "to go against them *to their utter rooting out* in all hostile manner." The parties against whom this dreadful fiat goes forth, are the Earl of Athol and Lord Ogilvy, and their people in Athol and the braes of Angus; the Farquharsons of Braemar, and the inhabitants of Badenoch, Lochaber, and Rannoch. Some *unheard-of* cruelties had been perpetrated under that vile commission, one of the chief springs of the "grand national movement." Take this specimen of the *exoneration*; viz. for attacking any kind of houses, "and putting of fire therein, or destroying of the same howsoever; or for putting of *WHATSOEVER PERSON OR PERSONS TO TORTURE OR QUESTION*; or putting of any persons to death; at any time betwixt the said 18th day of June 1640, and the said 2d day of August next thereafter." Montrose never required such exoneration as did this blood-thirsty Dictator. Compare what is now stated with Mr Hallam's History, as noticed before, p. 317. See also before, p. 309; and also Appendix, for the particulars of the cruelty of the covenanting army mentioned at pp. 380, 392.

given on neither side; that those prisoners which were taken by the Scots, as once they did take some persons of honour of his party, were afterwards, in cold blood, hanged reproachfully; which was much worse than if they had been killed in the field; and asked him, 'if Montrose *had ever caused any man to die in cold blood, or after the battle was ended*; since what was done in it *flagrante* was more to be imputed to the fierceness of his soldiers than to his want of humanity.' The earl confessed 'that he did not know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in the field;' but concluded, with more passion, 'that his behaviour there was so savage, that Scotland would never forgive him.' **

Lord Byron, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, dated 30th March 1649, says: "I came to the Hague about ten days since; where, not long before, the Earl of Lanerick, now Duke Hamilton, was arrived. There I found likewise the Marquis of Montrose, the Earls of Lauderdale, Calendar, and Seaforth, the Lords St Clair and Napier, and old William Murray. These, though all of one nation, are subdivided into four several factions. The Marquis of Montrose, with the Lords St Clair and Napier, are very earnest for the king's going into Ireland. All the rest oppose it, though in several ways. I find Duke Hamilton very moderate, and certainly he would be much more, were it not for the violence of Lauderdale, *who haunts him like a fury*. Calendar and Seaforth have a faction apart; and so hath William Murray, *employed here by Argyle*."† This was the state of things immediately before the arrival of the Scottish deputies. On the 12th of April Lord Byron again writes: "Commissioners are come out of Scotland, consisting

* Hist. vol. vi. p. 290.

† Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 238.—Principal Baillie's kinsman and correspondent Spang, also writes to him from the Hague, 19th March 1649, "I found that all those designed by our late sovereign to be his four counsellors, while he was Prince of Wales, viz. Cottington, Andover, Culpepper, and Hyde, advised he should go directly for Ireland. This did James Graham urge also with great vehemence."

of one earl, Cassilis, two burgesses, and four divines, to treat with his majesty concerning the affairs of that kingdom, or rather to impose *insufferable* conditions upon him. To give the better assurance of their good intentions to his service, immediately before their coming out of Scotland the Marquis of Huntly was put to death, for no other crime but his *loyalty to the king*. Their propositions are as insolent as can be imagined ; for they require that all *malignants* and evil counsellors, and particularly the Marquis of Montrose, should be banished the court ; that his majesty should take both the National Covenant, and the *Holy League and Covenant*, as they term it, and establish a Presbyterian government in all his kingdoms. But the king being now unfortunately in a Presbyterian country, cannot resent these indignities as otherwise he would.”*

It was proposed by his majesty that the question of accepting or rejecting the propositions of these commissioners should be discussed before him at the council board, between Montrose and the lords of the Engagement. The loyal and intrepid marquis expressed his willingness to do so in any form, and before any audience ; but Hamilton and Lauderdale declined a contest in which they well knew that the “clear honour,” temper, and talent of their opponent would so conspicuously appear. Charles then requested their opinions in writing ; and Montrose seized the opportunity of sending a letter to him, of which the original draft has fortunately been preserved in the charter-chest, though not hitherto known to exist. This able and eloquent pleading, in which he evinces so noble a disdain of the malicious calumny against himself, commences with the bold assertion that the commissioners were entirely without warrant or authority, and that “your majesty, in my humble opinion, is not,—without destroying your own authority and honour,—to acknowledge any such capable either of giving or receiving satisfaction, in the interest of your majesty’s service ; they being directed only from *pretended*

* Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 268.

judicatories, unlawfully convocated and unlawfully proceeding, contrary to the right of monarchy, fundamental laws of that kingdom, and all your majesty's just and necessary interests." He then proceeds to illustrate the specious but false pretensions of the original Covenant, admitting, however, that if his majesty should still resolve to treat with such commissioners on any terms, it might be as well, considering the state of the times, the little importance of it out of Scotland, that the late king had been brought to acknowledge it, and that many were harmlessly inveigled in it, who yet meant rightly enough for the royal service,—to make no difficulty upon that point. But, he says, "as for that of their *Solemn League*,—which they always strive to twist alongst with the other,—it is so full of injustice, violence, and rebellion, that, in my humble opinion, it were your majesty's *shame and ruin* ever to give ear unto it; being nothing else but a condemning of your royal father's memory, joining all your dominions in rebellion, by your own consent, against you, and in effect a very formal putting hand against yourself." And then he brings the whole covenanting principle to this severe test, apparently indifferent to the fact that his reasoning implies a condemnation of the factious years of his own youth: "They would also *force* your majesty to quit the form of service and worship in your family! And yet they made it a *ground of rebellion* against your royal father, that they *but imagined* he intended to meddle with them in the like kinds. And whereas, they say, by granting all their extravagant desires, your majesty would not only gain the hearts of Scotland, but all others, likewise, of your other dominions,—it is most evident, and known to all the world, your majesty would lose irrecoverably the hearts and services of all your party within the three kingdoms, besides what would touch your conscience, honour, and memory, before God, the world, and all posterity. For have they not still totally declined the royal party in all your kingdoms? *Juggled with all sectaries*? And is it not their downright tenet, that they must rather receive

all than 'Malignants?' As witness, their late *calling in of Cromwell*,* and all of that nature."

"And besides all this, they have been the fountain and origin of all the rebellions, both amongst themselves and all others in your majesty's dominions; and after they had received all full satisfaction, in order to their whole desires, both touching church and state, within their own nation, they entered England with a strong army, and there joined themselves to the rebel party in that kingdom,—persecuted the king, your royal father, till in a kind they reduced him to deliver himself up into their hands,—and then—contrary to all duty, gratitude, faith, and hospitality, they sold him over into the hands of his merciless enemies,—*complotted his death*,† —*connived at his murder*,‡—and have been the only rigid and restless instruments of all his saddest fate. Of all which horrid misdemeanours they are so little ashamed, that they make it their only business now to preserve their conquest by the same means by which they at first acquired it,—murdering your best subjects, while they pretend to treat with your majesty."§

* "Sir Archibald Johnston, in February last [1649], viz. 27th of the same, being arguing against Sir John Brown anent the Scots last going into England, and the English, with Cromwell and Lambert, their here coming at the Whigamore raid, confessed publicly in open parliament, although by him formerly *denied*, and *mensworn*, that *they came into Scotland with consent*. Whereupon Sir John desired the clerk to *mark that* as an essential point, now confessed in open parliament."—*Balfour*, vol. iii. p. 388.

† It is mentioned by various contemporary chroniclers, that when Cromwell was staying with Argyle in the Lady Home's house in the Canongate, the proposition of putting the king to death was privately discussed and agreed to there.

‡ The chief instruction from Scotland to the commissioners in London, shortly before the king's execution, was, not to *offend the Estates* by excusing the king's conduct in any attempt they might make to save his life.

§ At the very time when the commissioners were on their way to the Hague, 22d March 1649, the Marquis of Huntly was executed in Scotland, for no reason except his loyalty. He died more nobly for that

Such were the sentiments and the facts which the weak Hamilton and the vicious Lauderdale would have heard, in a voice of thunder, from the lips of Montrose, aided by all the effect of his "very princely carriage and excellent address,"—had they dared to have argued with him at the council board of their exiled sovereign. And such were the unclouded views of that accomplished nobleman, whom we are about to see triumphing gloriously in death over the malice of the fanatical faction he had thus laid bare,—and bequeathing an indelible record, in his own fate, of the true nature of those who so industriously laboured to oppress him with groundless calumnies.

The details of our hero's eventful history, and the motives of all his actions, were hitherto so meagrely evolved, that even his most illustrious admirer has recorded him as "that intrepid but rash enthusiast."* The fates were indeed against Montrose as well as the monarchy: he had been rejected in the cabinet, and betrayed in the field; but in no prediction, as to the tendency of the times or the character of the actors, was he ever mistaken; in no council did his judgment prove unsound; and in no pitched battle was he ever defeated. Moreover, as we have been enabled to establish, in no single circumstance of his ardent and chivalrous career, did he act except according to the very letter of a royal commission, and in strict terms of the instructions which he had received from his sovereign. And even now, as we proceed to show, when the fate of his beloved master would have excused his having rushed, however rashly, upon his own death, he had, besides his military warrant, the commands of Charles II. in writing for every step which led to that catastrophe.

cause than he had supported it. A copy of his last speech is preserved among the Wigton Papers. He pathetically alludes to the fact, that he had done too little in the cause for which he suffered.

Montrose's noble letter will be found entire in the Appendix.

* Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 478.

The king, as is well known, instead of acceding at this time to the desire of the Covenanters, kept them in play, and proceeded first to Brussels, and from thence to France, to consult with the Queen-mother. Meanwhile Montrose had received his private but express commands to raise what forces he could abroad, and to form a junction with the loyalists in Scotland. In the family charter-chest there is also preserved the original diploma, dated at Brussels, 6th June 1649, and addressed to all foreign states, by which the marquis is distinctly invested with the most ample powers as ambassador-extraordinary from the King of England. Shortly before his majesty quitted the Hague, his residence there had been rendered yet more disagreeable by the assassination of a subject of that country, Dr Dorislaus, who had assisted at the trial of Charles the First. This regicide owed his death, as is well known, to the violent excitement occasioned among the royalists, by his presence in that city in some accredited character from the rebels. Montrose would have scorned to be connected with any deed so base ; nor was it ever whispered in his own times that he was in any degree accessory to the murder of the republican envoy. The States instituted an investigation, in which no idea ever arose that the great marquis had more to do with this miserable assassination than had Charles himself. Clarendon, indeed, says, that it was generally supposed to have been perpetrated by some servants or retainers of Montrose ; a denomination under which every fiery royalist at the Hague would naturally fall. But the calumny, that this crime is to be imputed to our hero, is a modern one, and not worthy of a more elaborate refutation. He remained at the seat of government until the end of August, which was a considerable time after the king had taken his departure.*

The ensuing three or four months were occupied by Montrose in attendance upon the various foreign powers from

* Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 345.

whom he expected to obtain the sinews of war. Wherever he went, he was received as a person of the highest distinction, not only on account of his mission from the King of England, but owing to his military fame ; and all the while, he was still acting under private instructions from his own sovereign. While with the King of Denmark, he received a special commission for settling the differences with the town of Ham-burgh, dated 5th September 1649 ;* and upon the 19th of the same month, his majesty wrote the following letter, which affords a satisfactory proof that our hero was not acting merely from the impulse of his own adventurous spirit.

“ MY LORD,—I entreat you to go on vigorously, and with your wonted courage and care in the prosecution of those trusts I have committed to you, and not to be startled with any reports you may hear, as if I were otherwise inclined to the Presbyterians than when I left you. I assure you I am still upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever upon your undertaking and endeavours for my service ; being fully resolved to assist and support you therein to the utmost of my power, as you shall find in effect, when you shall desire any thing to be done by your affectionate friend,

“ CHARLES R.

“ *St Germain, September 19, 1649.*”†

At the same time the utmost impatience for his presence in Scotland was manifested by his influential friends in that quarter ; for during all these negotiations, he had kept up a constant correspondence with the loyalists there, who assured him “ that the whole people and gentry, and most part of the nobility, will join him upon his first appearing ; and that there be great changes there, even in those that were his greatest enemies ; and that the most part of the officers and soldiers commanded by David Lesly have vowed solemnly to render

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

† *Ibid.*

themselves for the king, under his command.”* Moreover, shortly after he had received the foregoing letter from the king, there came to him from Orkney, “Sir James Douglas, my Lord Morton’s brother, Major Melvin, with gentlemen of quality from all places of the kingdom, who, in the name of the whole kingdom, did entreat and press Montrose earnestly to go to Scotland, and not to stay for all his men (who might follow); for his own presence was able to do the business, and would undoubtedly bring 20,000 men together for the king’s service: all men being weary and impatient to live any longer under that bondage, pressing down their estates, their persons, and their consciences.”† Thus urged to action by his sovereign, and entreated to the same effect by his loyal countrymen, the marquis proceeded to Sweden, where he received great encouragement from Queen Christina. It was from that kingdom the most celebrated of his declarations, announcing his commission and calling upon his associates to support the throne, was put forth, in the month of November of this year. That Montrose himself composed it, there can be no doubt, as some of the glowing sentences contained in his letter to Charles II. at the Hague, are here repeated, though wrought up to more fiery indignation. His pen was, indeed, as effective as his sword.

“I’ll make thee glorious by my pen, and famous by my sword.”

Conceive the fury of the conscious Covenanters when they read, set forth against them in various languages, an accusation they well knew was nowhere doubted, and now rendered thus poignant by the eloquence of their enemy: “When, by many intercourses, his majesty had received all manner of assurances, which, though *shame* would make them willingly excuse, *guilt* will let them have nothing to say for it,—being so undeniable,

* Paper entitled “Proceedings of the Marquis of Montrose,” and enclosed by one of his agents to Sir Edward Nicholas at Jersey, where his majesty then was. It is dated 20th January 1650.—Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 345.

† Ibid.

and to *all the world* so known a truth,—casting himself into their hands, *THEY*,—contrary to all faith and paction, trust of friends, duty of subjects, laws of hospitality, nature, nations, divine and human, to which there hath never been precedent, nor can ever be a follower,—most infamously, and beyond all imaginable expression of invincible baseness, to the blush of Christians, and abomination of mankind, *SOLD THEIR SOVEREIGN* over to their merciless fellow-traitors, to be destroyed.”*

Charles had gone from St Germain to Jersey in the month of September, shortly after the date of that letter to Montrose we have already quoted. At the latter place, finding his hopes of protection in Ireland destroyed by the victories of Cromwell, his majesty was again induced to listen with more attention to another overture on the part of Argyle, inviting him to Scotland. The renewed propositions of the Covenanters, it is true, were even more insolent than the former, and purposely designed by their leader to deter the king from accepting them. But Charles now adopted that useless and disreputable policy, for which he had nearly paid the forfeit of his own life, and to which the gallant Montrose immediately fell a sacrifice. Yielding to the entreaties of the Queen-mother and the Prince of Orange, who had been brought to side with the faction of Hamilton and Lauderdale, he determined to meet the commissioners at Breda, and there endeavour to arrange the terms of his reception. Had he written to the marquis that such was his determination, withdrawn his commission from him as governor of Scotland, and commanded him to lay down arms, there cannot be a doubt that the mandate would have been obeyed, and that the hero, though with a heavy heart, would have departed for the time at least to his command in Germany. But the intimation which he obtained of these transactions was by the following letter :

* This was the Declaration a copy of which was hung round his neck at his execution ; and I quote from that in the Montrose charter-chest, which is labelled as being the identical copy so used ; and obtained by the family in the year of his execution, 1650.

"MY LORD OF MONTROSE,—My public letter having expressed all that I have of business to say to you, I shall only add a word by this to assure you, that I will never fail in the effects of that friendship I have promised, and which your zeal to my service hath so eminently deserved; and that nothing that can happen to me shall make me consent to any thing to your prejudice. I *conjure you*, therefore, not to take alarm at any reports, or messages from others, but to depend upon my kindness, and to *proceed in your business with your usual courage and alacrity*, which, I am sure, will bring great advantage to my affairs, and much honour to yourself. *I wish you all good success in it*, and shall ever remain your affectionate friend,

"CHARLES R.

"*Jersey, 22d of January 1650.*"*

This private letter was accompanied with copies both of the address of the Parliament of Scotland, inviting the king thither in the terms already noticed, and of his majesty's too gracious answer, and also a letter of public instructions superscribed by Charles,† in which he says, "We have appointed a speedy time and place for their commissioners to attend us; and, to the end you may not apprehend that we intend, either by any thing contained in those letters, or by the treaty we expect, to *give the least impediment to your proceedings*, we think fit to let you know, that as we conceive that *your preparations* have been one effectual motive that hath induced them to make the said address to us, so your *vigorous proceeding* will be a *good means to bring them to such moderation*, in the said treaty, as probably may produce an agreement, and a present union of that whole nation in our service. We assure you, therefore, that we will not, before or during the treaty, do any

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.

† The originals of all these letters are in the Montrose charter-chest. It is remarkable, that not only the private letter, but the public one, and also the copy of the parliament's address, seem to be entirely written out, and very beautifully, by the hand of Charles himself.

thing contrary to that power and authority which we have given you by our commission, nor consent to any thing that may bring the least diminution to it." His majesty proceeds to assure him, that his honour and interests shall be amply provided for ; and then, in reference to his former advice, not to acknowledge any commission emanating from unlawful conventions, it is added,—“ In the mean time, we think fit to declare to you, that we have called them a ‘ Committee of Estates,’ only in order to a treaty, and for no other end whatsoever.” The document concludes with reiterated injunctions “ to proceed vigorously and effectually in your undertaking.” With these letters another at the same time reached the marquiss, evincing yet more strongly his sovereign’s approbation and regard. It contained the George and Riband of the Order of the Garter, bestowed upon the hero in terms the most flattering that could be conceived, and which conclude as follows :—“ We are most assured, that as you have hitherto, with singular courage, conduct, and fidelity served us, so you will still do the same, as becomes a knight and companion of so noble an order. Given at our court, in the castle Elizabeth, in our island of Jersey, this twelfth day of January, in the first year of our reign, 1649.”*

* *Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest. The George and Riband are also there. The foregoing date is according to the old style, and would be written now, 22d January 1650. All these letters and instructions from Jersey are dated on the same day, and it is well they have been preserved. David Hume, with every desire to do justice to the hero, had recorded : “ Montrose, hastening his enterprise, lest the king’s agreement with the Scots *should make him revoke his commission*, set out for the Orkneys with 500 men. Some of his retainers having told him of a prophecy, that to him, and him alone, it was reserved to restore the king’s authority in all his dominions, he lent a willing ear to suggestions which, however ill-grounded or improbable, were so conformable to his own daring character.”—*Hist.* vol. vii. p. 177. Upon these grounds, too, Sir Walter Scott had called him a “ rash but intrepid enthusiast.” Alas, to the very hour of his capture, Montrose was acting according to the repeated and express injunctions of his sovereign, who added every honourable incentive to urge

It also appears that about this time, or a little afterwards, Lord Napier, who was left at Hamburg to superintend the enlistment of troops, being anxious to join his uncle, had taken the precaution to assure himself that in doing so he was only obeying the commands of his sovereign. So late as three months after the date of the letters just quoted, and while the treaty was going on at Breda, his majesty thus writes :—

“ MY LORD NEPER,—As I have ever been confident of your great affection to my service, so I am much confirmed in the opinion of it by the letter I lately received from you. I pray *continue your assistances* to the Marquis of Montrose, which your being with him will much the more enable you to do ; and therefore I am *well pleased with your repair to him*, and very sensible of your good endeavours for my service, which I shall ever acknowledge as your very affectionate friend,

“ CHARLES R.

“ *Breda, the 15th of April 1650.*”*

By this time, however, and before his nephew could join him, Montrose being commanded, as we have seen, to press on his expedition as an essential accessory of the treaty of Breda, had made his descent upon the mainland of Scotland. In a hurried note from him to Lord Seaforth, dated from Gottenburg, 15th December 1649, he mentions that he was preparing to sail, on the following day, for Orkney. Other contemporary accounts say, that having learnt that despatches were coming to him from his majesty, he had paused until he received them. Considering the season of the year, and the various circumstances that might derange his plans, it is very

him on his fate. It is hoped that the evidence of these original documents, yet in the charter-chest of his family, will supersede the idle story, that he was at this time only following the dictates of a fantastic heroism and weak superstition. Even Clarendon does not appear to have been made aware of the precise and reiterated instructions under which he acted.

* *Orig.*—Napier charter-chest.

possible that he did not set sail on the day he intended, and he may have received those letters and instructions, which accompanied the Order of the Garter, while yet in Sweden. Otherwise, they must have reached him in Orkney, where undoubtedly he was on the 26th of March ; for of that date, in another short note to the same nobleman, from Kirkwall, he mentions that he is on the eve of going to the mainland. Sir Edward Nicholas writing from Breda, on the 13th of April, two days before the date of the king's letter to Lord Napier, informs the Marquis of Ormond,—“ Montrose arrived about a month since in Orkney for certain ; what force he hath there is variously reported ; but *the king expects every day an express from him.*” The account of his proceedings already referred to, in the Ormond Papers, thus concludes : “ And now there are letters lately come, reporting that Montrose is no more to be found in Denmark nor Sweden, having gone incognito to Scotland, no man knowing when or what way he went ; having left behind him his Lieutenant-general, my Lord Rythven, General-major Carpe, my Lord Napier, and many officers ready to make sail at such time as he has designed to them. But a short time will clear all. In the mean time, I am desired from Hamburg, Denmark, and Sweden, to find some faithful friend to give information to his majesty of all these former truths. Montrose has caused make the king's standard all black,—all full of bloody hands and swords, and a red character or motto above, carrying revenge.” *

A short time did indeed clear all. Suffice it to say, that Montrose was deceived by the magnificent promises of the potentates abroad, and by the too sanguine hopes of the royalists in Scotland. The former furnished him with arms, ammunition, and transports, but left him to provide an army for himself. The latter were right in their estimate of the sentiments of the Scottish people ; but they forgot that the spirit of the nation was crushed under the dictatorship of

* The motto was “Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord !” See before, p. 447. Montrose's own standard bore this motto, *Nil medium*.

Argyle, whose insidious negotiations, moreover, with Charles himself at the very time, held out false hopes of the settlement of monarchy by more peaceful means. The elements, too, were adverse. Of twelve hundred men whom he sent before him to Orkney a thousand perished by shipwreck. His own fate was not long delayed. Destitute of cavalry, and with only a few hundred soldiers, composed of Germans, Orkney-men, and a small band of personal friends, he reached the confines of Ross-shire, where, at a place called Corbiesdale, near the pass of Invercarron and the river Kyle, he fell into an ambuscade, and was instantly overwhelmed by a body of cavalry under Colonel Strachan, and by the forces of David Leslie, General Holburn, and the Earl of Sutherland. The greater portion of his little band were slaughtered on the field, drowned in the river, or made prisoners, with small loss on the side of the victors. The marquis and his friends fought desperately : by his side was killed young Menzies of Pitfoddels, while defending the ghastly standard, of which he was the bearer ; and Montrose himself was covered with wounds, and his horse killed under him. His friend the Viscount Fren-draught, also severely wounded, generously dismounted to afford him a chance of life by escaping on his horse.* By this means the marquis extricated himself from the bloody scene, and quitted the field in company with the Earl of Kinnoull, and two gentlemen of the name of Sinclair. The rest of his friends, including the celebrated Major-general Hurry, were taken prisoners, with the exception of young Pitfoddels, the Laird of Powrie Ogilvy, John Douglas (the Earl of Morton's brother), and a few other officers, all of whom were left dead on the field. Lord Napier had not yet joined his uncle from abroad. It must have been late in the evening when Montrose escaped, for the surprise occurred about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of April, and

* The viscount was sure of obtaining quarter from the Earl of Sutherland, his uncle, who accordingly sent him to Dunrobin to be cured of his wounds.

the unequal struggle lasted some time. He did all in his power to save himself from the fangs of those who, he knew, were thirsting for his blood. Balfour records that his George and Garter being found concealed at the root of a tree, in the line of his flight, were brought in triumph to the Committee of Estates, along with the accompanying letter we have already quoted;* and some of his papers were also discovered in the same manner. He had been soon compelled to abandon his horse, and he sought safety by changing habits with the first peasant whom he met. The contemporary historian of the Earls of Sutherland records, that Montrose and Kinnoull "wandered up that river (Kyle) the whole ensuing night and the next day, and the third day also, without any food or sustenance, and at last came within the country of Assint. The Earl of Kinnoull being faint for lack of meat, and not able to travel any farther, was left there among the mountains, where it was supposed he perished. James Graham had almost famished, but that he fortuned in his misery to light upon a small cottage in that wilderness, where he was supplied with some milk and bread." Another contemporary account asserts that he suffered such extremity of hunger, while wandering among the hills of Assint, that he was reduced to devour his gloves.† Not even the iron frame of Montrose could endure a prolonged existence under such circumstances. He gave himself up to Macleod of Assint, a former adherent, from whom he had reason to expect assistance in consideration of that circumstance, and indeed from the dictates of honourable feeling and common humanity. As the Argyle faction had sold the king, so this Highlander rendered his own name infamous by selling the hero to the Covenanters, for which "duty to the public" he was rewarded with four hundred bolls of meal.‡

* These must have been given to his son after the Restoration, as they are in the charter-chest.

† See Sharpe's notes to Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 123.

‡ Macleod's Indictment, Criminal Records, 1674. He was tried for

David Leslie, into whose hands the marquis was delivered, now indeed showed that he deserved to be called "the Executioner." Had he possessed the high feeling of a soldier, the heart of a Christian, or the mind of a gentleman, he would have treated his noble enemy with some respect, even while he led him to his doom. But he delighted in rendering him a spectacle to the country through which he past, and would not suffer him to change the mean and way-worn habit of his disguise. While they paused at the house of the Laird of Grange, not far from Dundee, the captive had very nearly effected his escape. The good lady plied the guards with intoxicating cheer until they were all fast asleep, and then she dressed the marquis in her own clothes, hoping to save him as his friend Ogilvy had been saved. In this disguise he passed all the sentinels, and was on the point of escaping, when a soldier, just sober enough to mark what was passing, gave the alarm, and he was again secured. At Kinnaird, the house of his father-in-law the Earl of Southesk, were his two boys, James and Robert. He obtained permission to see them, but neither at meeting nor parting did he suffer himself to betray the least emotion; and wounded and weary as he was, he preserved throughout this melancholy progress a serene aspect, a composed temper, and an apparent indifference to his fate. In Dundee, where the escort stopped a night, he was at length suffered to change the countryman's habit for one more suited to his quality. It was not until the 18th of May that they reached the gates of Edinburgh, as the exhausted state of their prisoner occasioned some delay. And now this illustrious nobleman, who so recently had associated with crowned heads, the "observed of all observers" at their courts, and honoured with the most confidential commands of his own sovereign, was at the mercy of Argyle and the Covenanters!

that treachery, but saved by means of bribery, and the interest of Lauderdale, the enemy of Montrose. Ian Lom, the bard of Keppoch, wrote a beautiful lament for the fallen hero, in which he does not spare Assint.

CHAPTER XV.

Treatment of Montrose by the Covenanted Government—His heroic Character more conspicuous under their Cruelty—Some original Anecdotes illustrative of his Dispositions and Accomplishments—Inhuman Sentence pronounced against him—Conducted in Triumph to the Tolbooth—His magnanimous Endurance of the Persecutions of his Enemies—His Demeanour in Prison, and at the Bar of the House when receiving Sentence—His Speech to the Parliament—His Preparations for Death—Walks from the Tolbooth to the Scaffold in gallant Apparel—His Demeanour at his Death—His Last Speech—Further Particulars of his Execution—Lady Napier procures his Heart, and has it embalmed—Bloody Reliques in the Napier Charter-chest—Extraordinary Fate of Montrose's Heart.

As the principles of justice and the feelings of humanity were no ingredients of the Presbyterian government, at this time paramount in Scotland, Montrose was not favoured even with the mockery of a trial. It was well known that he was acting under the orders of the sovereign who had been recently proclaimed by them, and with whom, at the very moment, they pretended to be in treaty on friendly and loyal terms. They knew also, that if their murderous design should reach the ear of the king, it would induce him to interpose all the authority he possessed to prevent so foul an act, and that probably the perpetration of it would break off their negotiation entirely,—a result which Argyle and a few of his coadjutors by no means deprecated. Besides, a public trial would have enabled the marquis not only to claim the protection of Charles, but to produce, in the face of the country, the most unquestionable documentary evidence whereby he might justify every step

he had taken. But the hand of the vindictive chief had now reached his mortal enemy, and he was not one to be deterred from the gratification of his revenge by any considerations of honour and justice on earth, or dread of retribution in heaven. Under pretext of his forfeiture and excommunication in former years, Montrose was hurried with savage indecency to the scaffold, ere his sovereign, by whose commands he had returned to Scotland, could even know that he was taken prisoner.

It was as well, however, for the fame of this great man, that his enemies were thus unprincipled and inexorable; for the heroic manner in which he met, not only an ignominious death, but the aggravating circumstances with which the ingenuity of the covenanting government endeavoured to render it terrible to him, brought out his character more brightly than all that he had previously done and suffered for his king and country. Let it be remembered, that he was suddenly plunged into this abyss of misfortune from a state of the greatest consideration, and the highest hopes,—flattered and caressed by crowned heads, and honoured with the most particular marks of confidence by his own sovereign. Then he had been wounded desperately in the fight,* and nearly famished during the few days that he wandered in disguise. Nor was he sustained under his present trials by any unnatural desire to sacrifice his life. He endeavoured to save himself in the field; he delivered himself up to one he deemed a friend; he entered into a stratagem to effect an escape from his guards; and now he was dragged to the scene of his last sufferings, without the presence of a single relation or friend to sustain him. Yet he displayed a mind perfectly calm and collected; and the indignities which were intended to degrade him in the

* "May 17. Letters that Montrose was taken two or three days after the fight, sixteen miles from the place of the engagement, in a disguise, and sorely wounded."—*Whitelocke*. It is also mentioned in Mr Sharpe's edition of Kirkton, that he was "brought into Edinburgh, having many wounds upon him, which, according to the Diurnal, might have been cured."—*Notes*, p. 123.

eyes of the people, he endured with a cheerful submission that attracted the kindly sympathies even of those who had been tutored by the clergy to scoff and abuse him. In the few moments allowed for remonstrance with his murderers, he left no point untouched that affected his own reputation, or could serve to illustrate the gross iniquity of their proceedings. But all this he did with a composure of spirit, gentleness of temper, dignity of demeanour, and eloquence of expression, that at once marked the Christian hero, and the accomplished gentleman. The malice of the covenanting rulers, in now treating him as if he were a monster of cruelty, and so savage in all his dispositions as to be well worthy of the doom they decreed, is rendered yet more diabolical by the fact, that he was known to possess a mind cultivated in the highest degree, and actuated by sentiments the most honourable to humanity. One of his companions in arms has recorded, that the camp of the great marquis "was an academy, admirably replenished with discourses of the best and deepest sciences, whose several parts were strongly held up under him the head, by those knowing noble souls, the Earls of Kinnoull and Airley, the Lords Gordon, Ogilvy, Napier, and Maderty; and the two famous Spotswoods Sir Robert and his nephew, whose heads were too precious to be cut off by them who knew not how to understand them. This I am bold to mention, because such noble discourses banished from his quarter all obscene and scurrilous language, with all those offensive satirical reflections which are now the only current wit among us; and if any such peeped forth in his presence, his severe looks told the speaker it was unwelcome."* Some other particulars, illustrative of his natural habits and dispositions, shall here be added, from original and contemporary sources, ere we pass on to the sad scene of his execution.

In a manuscript history of the times, by Patrick Gordon of Cluny,* I find this description and character of Montrose: "It

* Sydsærf's preface, quoted before, p. 361.

† Entitled, "A short Abridgement of Britain's Distemper, from the

cannot be denied that he was an accomplished gentleman of many excellent parts; a body not tall, but comely, and well proportioned in all his lineaments; his complexion nearly white, with flaxen hair; of a staid, grave, and solid look; and yet his eyes sparkling and full of life; of speech slow, but witty and full of sense; a presence graceful, courtly, and so winning upon the beholder, that it seemed to claim reverence without serving for it; for he was so affable, so courteous, so benign, that he seemed verily to scorn ostentation and the keeping of state; and therefore he quickly made a conquest of the hearts of all his followers, so that, when he list, he could have led them in a chain, to have followed him with cheerfulness in all his enterprises; and I am persuaded that this gracious, humane, and courteous freedom of behaviour, being certainly acceptable before God as well as men, was that which won him so much renown, and enabled him, chiefly in the love of his followers, to go through so great enterprises, wherein his equals had failed, although they exceeded him far in power." The chronicler then proceeds to animadvert upon what he terms, "that English devil, the keeping of state," meaning the haughty and exclusive style towards inferiors, of which he accuses the nobility of the times; and then he thus resumes the character of our hero: "but to return where I left, this seemed to be well known to this nobleman, the Marquis of Montrose; and therefore he did wisely apply himself to the

year of God 1639 to 1649." The existence of this valuable MS. I was not aware of until very recently, and while this chapter was passing through the press. In "Montrose and the Covenanters," vol. i. p. 529, I had stated, "Of Patrick Gordon's MS. I have not been able to discover that either the original or a transcript is known to exist." I am indebted, however, to the kindness of John Stuart, Esq. of Aberdeen, for the use of an old copy of the MS. in question, from which the foregoing extracts are derived. It must be earnestly desired that this interesting and authentic history should be printed ere long by the Spalding Club. Patrick Gordon was a younger son of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, and was admitted a burgess of Aberdeen, March 23, 1608.

natural inclination of those whom he was to command ; or, verily, I rather think he was naturally inclined to humility, courtesy, gentleness, and freedom of carriage ; he did not seem to affect state, nor to claim reverence, nor to keep a distance with gentlemen that were not his domestics ; but, in a noble yet courteous way, he seemed to slight that vanishing smoke of greatness, affecting rather the real possession of men's hearts, than the frothy and outward show of reverence ; and therefore was all reverence thrust upon him, because all did love him, all did honour him and reverence him,—yea, having once acquired their hearts, they were ready not only to honour him, but to quarrel with any that would not honour him, and would not spare their fortunes, nor their dearest hearts' blood to the end that he might be honoured. Because they saw that he took the right course to obtain honour, he had found the right way to be revered,—and thereby was approved that prophetic maxim, which hath never failed, nor never-shall fail, being pronounced by the fountain of truth, ' He that humbleth himself shall be exalted ;' for his winning behaviour, and courteous carriage, got him more respect than those to whom they were bound, both by the law of nature and by good reason, to have given it to ; nor could any other reason be given for it, but only their too much keeping of distance, and carrying themselves in a more stately and reserved way, without putting a difference betwixt a freeborn gentleman and a servile or base-minded slave.”*

In the same manuscript there is an interesting illustration of Montrose's power of drawing towards himself the romantic

* This, though not hitherto printed, is by much the most minute description of Montrose extant. See before, p. 13. It coincides curiously with Clarendon's observation, that “ Montrose did believe somewhat to be in himself above other men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him, —towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity,—than with his superiors or equals.”—Hist. vol. ii. p. 422. It was to these last he carried himself in the manner which Burnet describes as being “ stately to affectation.”

attachment of the most accomplished of those noble and talented friends, who, as Sydsenf tells us, composed the brilliant galaxy of his military staff. We have already had occasion to record the young Lord Napier's "preposterous love for his uncle," as his puritanical adviser termed it; and Patrick Gordon narrates that the hero had in like manner fascinated the gallant and interesting Lord Gordon, whom he lost at the battle of Alford. In recording that melancholy event, the chronicler adds: "the Marquis of Montrose himself, with all or at least the greatest part of the army, did accompany the corps to the interment, nor did he forbear to show himself the chief mourner; and indeed there was reason for it, as never two of so short acquaintance did ever love more dearly. There seemed to be a harmonious sympathy in their natural dispositions, so much were they delighted in a mutual conversation. And in this the Lord Gordon seemed to go beyond the natural limits of his carriage in civil conversation; so real was his affection, and so great the estimation he had of the other, that when they fell into any familiar discourse, it was often remarked, that the ordinary air of his countenance was changed, from a serious listening, to a certain ravishment or admiration of the other's witty expressions; and he was often heard in public to speak, sincerely, and to confirm it with oaths, that if the fortune of the present war should prove at any time so dismal that Montrose for safety should be forced to fly into the mountains, without any army or any one to assist him, he would live with him like an outlaw, and would prove as faithful a consort to drive away his malour, as he was then a helper to the advancement of his fortune." It was not by a savage and blood-thirsty nature that these conquests of affection were accomplished, but by the rich stores of a highly cultivated understanding, and a mind endowed with the gentlest arts. Little was the repose he ever enjoyed, yet every moment of leisure was employed to solace his refined genius with the contemplation of the heroic models of antiquity. His friend, Drummond of Hawthornden, records

the interesting fact, that, upon a leaf of Cæsar's Commentaries, he had written this couplet :

Though Cæsar's paragon I cannot be,
Yet shall I soar in thoughts as high as he.

And that in a copy of Quintus Curtius he had written :

As Philip's noble son did still disdain
All but the dear applause of merited fame,
And nothing harboured in that lofty brain
But how to conquer an eternal name :
So great attempts, heroic ventures, shall
Advance my fortune, or renown my fall !*

Upon the back of a contemporary deed in the Montrose charter-chest, I find the following note ; and although it does not appear to be in the handwriting of the marquis himself, the character is of that period, and, when compared with the quotation just given, there can be little doubt that they are the verses which he had written upon his copy of Lucan :

As Macedo his Homer, I'll thee still,
Lucan, esteem, as my most precious gem ;
And, though my fortune second not my will
That I may witness to the world the same,—
Yet, if she could but smile even so on me,
My mind desires as his, and soars as hie.

Pur Dio et honore.

When the covenanting parliament understood that their noble prisoner was about to be brought into the capital, they determined to pronounce sentence against him before his arrival. Accordingly, early on the morning of Friday, 17th May 1650, they appointed a committee to draw it up, who that forenoon gave in their report which was immediately confirmed by the following act :

* I am indebted for this illustration to an elegant little volume just published, entitled, "*Deliciæ Literariæ, a New Volume of Table-Talk,*" 1840, and in which the foregoing is printed for the first time from an unpublished collection of pasquils, &c., left in manuscript by Drummond of Hawthornden.

"Friday, 17th May. Act ordaining James Graham to be brought from the Water Gate on a cart, bare-headed, the hangman in his livery, covered, riding on the horse that draws the cart,—the prisoner to be bound to the cart with a rope,—to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and from thence to be brought to the Parliament House ; and there, in the place of delinquents, on his knees, to receive his sentence, viz. to be hanged on a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, with his book and declaration tied in a rope about his neck, and there to hang for the space of three hours until he be dead ; and thereafter to be cut down by the hangman, his head, hands, and legs to be cut off, and distributed as follows, viz. his head to be affixed on an iron pin, and set on the pinnacle of the west gavel of the new prison of Edinburgh ; one hand to be set on the port of Perth, the other on the port of Stirling ; one leg and foot on the port of Aberdeen, the other on the port of Glasgow ; if at his death penitent, and relaxed from excommunication, then the trunk of his body to be interred, by pioneers, in the Greyfriars ; otherwise, to be interred in the Boroughmuir, by the hangman's men, under the gallows."*

Upon Saturday the 18th, about four in the afternoon, the illustrious object of this inhuman doom was brought to Edinburgh. Inside the Water Gate there stood, ready to receive him, the magistrates, the town-guard, and the hangman with the appointed vehicle. Whenever he entered, the magistrates handed to him a copy of the sentence, which having read with the utmost composure, he at once, and in a firm tone of voice,

* From the Lord Lyon's (Balfour) notes of the parliament. The particulars of this sentence are also preserved in a MS. account of these proceedings against Montrose, found amongst the Wigton or Cumbernauld Papers, already mentioned at p. 198. From this most interesting document, preserved in the repositories of Montrose's friend and near relative the Earl of Wigton, a fuller account is obtained than is to be met with elsewhere. The passages given in the text with marks of quotation are from the Wigton MS.; the rest of the details are from that paper collated with the account preserved in the second part of Dr Wishart's history.

expressed his readiness to submit to his fate, though he regretted, that through him the sovereign, whom he represented in Scotland, should be thus dishonoured. The cart, for his more complete exposure, was constructed with a high chair in the centre, into which he immediately ascended without betraying the slightest emotion, and was fastened thereto with ropes, drawn through holes in the back of the seat. "The reason of his being tied to the cart was in hope that the people would have stoned him, and that he might not be able by his hands to save his face." His hat was then pulled off by the hangman, who himself continued covered, and, mounting his horse, the melancholy procession slowly commenced its progress through the most public streets, every where crowded with spectators, to the tolbooth. "In all the way, there appeared in him such majesty, courage, modesty,—and even somewhat more than natural,—that those common women who had lost their husbands and children in his wars, and who were hired to stone him, were upon the sight of him so astonished and moved, that their intended curses turned into tears and prayers; so that next day all the ministers preached against them for not stoning and reviling him.* It is remarkable that, of the many thousand beholders, the Lady Jean Gordon, countess of Haddington,† did publicly insult and laugh at him; which being perceived by a gentleman in the street, he cried up to her that it became

* See some very curious extracts from the records of the presbytery of St Andrews, recently printed for the Abbotsford Club, illustrating the Kirk's violent persecution of all classes of individuals of both sexes who dared to breathe a syllable in favour of Montrose, or derogatory to Argyle. The "*having drunk drinks to James Graham*," or sung a loyal song in his favour, or (in the case of a minister) the not having "*spoken enough for our deliverance from James Graham*," or the having "*spoken rashly of the Marquis of Argyle*," are the heinous and gross offences recorded, with their respective punishments, in this clerical record.

† Huntly's third daughter and Argyle's niece, who had been married to Thomas second earl of Haddington, under the auspices of her uncle.

her better to sit upon the cart for her adulteries. The Lord Lorn and his new lady* were also sitting on a balcony joyful spectators; and the cart being stopt when it came before the lodging where the Chancellor, Argyle, and Warriston sat,—that they might have time to insult,—he, suspecting the business, turned his face towards them, whereupon they presently crept in at the windows; which being perceived by an Englishman, he cried up, it was no wonder they started aside at his look, for they durst not look him in the face these seven years bygone."

It was past seven o'clock at night ere they reached the tolbooth, where, being untied, Montrose gave a piece of gold to the hangman, saying, "Fellow, there is drink-money for driving the cart." Meanwhile the parliament had been specially convened that evening at six o'clock, and their prisoner being lodged in the tolbooth, a deputation was sent to him, consisting of Lord Burleigh (whom he had defeated at Aberdeen), Sir James Hope of Hopetoun, Mr George Porterfield of Glasgow, and two ministers, Messrs James Durham and James Hamilton. These were commissioned to inform him that he was immediately to be brought up for sentence, and to learn whether he had any thing to communicate. To their tormenting interrogatories he replied, that he only required to know in what terms they now stood with the king, and whether his majesty had acknowledged them as a parliament. This answer he put in writing, which being communicated to the house, they postponed their proceedings against him till Monday; but they sent a second deputation to harass him in his cell, consisting of the former individuals, to whom were added his bitter enemy Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, now clerk-register, Sir Thomas Nicholson, who had been recently appointed king's advocate, and Sir James Stewart, provost of Edinburgh. These informed him,

* He was married on the Monday previous to Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James fifth earl of Moray.

with malicious exultation, "that their commissioners and the king's majesty were agreed, and that his majesty was coming here to this country."* Nor was the General Assembly idle upon this painful occasion. Besides instigating all these proceedings, they passed the following act:—"Edinburgh, 18th May 1650. The Commission of the General Assembly doth appoint Messrs David Dickson, James Durham, James Guthrie, Robert Trail, Hugh Mackael, to attend upon James Graham when he is entered in ward, and upon the scaffold, and deal with him to bring him to repentance, with power to them to release him from excommunication if so he *shall subscribe the declaration condescended upon by the Commission, containing an acknowledgment of his heinous and gross offences,—otherwise that they should not relax him.*"†

Thus was the wearied and wounded nobleman, who already knew the barbarous details of the sentence that awaited him, haunted in his dungeon, where, moreover, a guard was continually in waiting, who treated him with the rudest disrespect. Yet he appears not to have lost his composure or presence of mind for a moment. He told the deputation on Saturday night, that all he desired was a little rest; "for," said he, "the compliment you put upon me this day was a little tedious." And on Sunday, during the whole of which he was subjected to the insolence of his fanatical persecutors, he told them they were mistaken if they thought to have affronted him with the exhibition of the preceding day; for he considered it the most honourable and triumphant progress he had ever made, and that the Almighty had vouchsafed to him a comforting assurance throughout the whole of it. On Monday

* Balfour's Notes.

† Orig. MS. Minutes of the General Assembly.—These clergymen were the most rabid of their sect, and entirely dependent upon Argyle. James Guthrie was hanged in the reign of Charles II., and also Sir Archibald Johnston. In the year 1649 Sir James Balfour thus describes him: "Mr James Guthrie, minister of Lauder, a man once totally episcopal, but now a prime railer, a great favourer of conventicles, privy meetings, and sectaries."

morning, being the 20th, so early as eight o'clock, the following scene occurred, which is here given in the precise words of a manuscript in the handwriting of Robert Wodrow himself, the well-known historian and champion of the Kirk :—

“ This same time, Mr Patrick Simson* told me that he was allowed to go in with the ministers that went to confer with the Marquis of Montrose the day before his death, and was present at the time of their conference. His memory is so good, that, although it be now sixty years and more since it was, I can entirely depend upon his relation, even as to the very words ; and I set it down here as I wrote it from his mouth and read it over to him.

“ In the year 1650, the 20th of May, being Monday, the morning about 8 of the clock, before the marquis got his sentence, several ministers, Mr James Guthrie, Mr James Durham, Mr Robert Trail, minister at Edinburgh, and, if my author be not forgetful, Mr Mungo Law, appointed by the Commission of the Great Assembly, went into the telbooth of Edinburgh, where Montrose was. His room was kept by Lieutenant-colonel Wallace. Being forfeited and excommunicated, they only termed him *Sir*, and gave him none of his titles. Mr James Guthrie began, and told Montrose that there were several things might mar *his light*, in this affair they were come to him about, which he would do well to lay to heart, and he would hint at them before they came to the main point. 1st, Somewhat of his natural temper, which was *aspiring* and *lofty*, or to that purpose. 2dly, His personal vices, which were too notorious,—my author tells me he meant his being given to women.† 3dly, The taking a commission from the king to fight against his country, and raise a civil war within our

* Minister of Renfrew, and one of the Moderators of the General Assembly. Born 1628 ; died 1715.

† This conjectural calumny, expressed in the gross phrase of a gross sect, is sufficiently met by the fact, that with no particular scandal of the kind was Montrose upbraided, even by the unscrupulous enemies whose accusations against him were a tissue of falsehoods.

bowels. Montrose's direct answer to this, my relator hath forgot. 4thly, His taking Irish and Popish rebels, and cut-throats, by the hand, to make up of against his own countrymen. 5thly, The spoil and ravage his men made through the country, also the much blood shed by his cruel followers. Montrose heard him patiently till he had done, and then resumed all the particulars, and discoursed on them handsomely, *as he could well do*, intermixing many Latin apothegms, only my author thought his way and expression a little too airy and volage,—not so much suiting the gravity of a nobleman.* He granted that God had made men of several tempers and dispositions,—some slow and dull, others more sprightly and active,—and, if the Lord should withhold light on that account, he confessed he was one of those that love to have praise for virtuous actions. As for his personal vices, he did not deny but he had many; but if the Lord should withhold light upon that account, it might reach unto the greatest of saints, who wanted not their faults and failings. One of the ministers, here interrupting him, said, he was not to compare himself with the Scripture saints. He answered, 'I make no comparison of myself with them, I only speak of the argument.' As to the taking of those men, to be his soldiers, who were Irish Papists, &c. he said it was no wonder that the king should take any of his subjects who would help him, when those who should have been his best subjects deserted and opposed him; 'we see,' said he, 'what a company David took to defend him in the time of his strait.' There were some volitations, to and fro, upon that practice of David, which are forgot. As to his men's spoiling and plundering the country, he answered,—they knew that soldiers who wanted pay could not be restrained from spoilzie, nor kept under such strict discipline as other regular forces; but he did all that lay

* One of the ministers evinced his own Christian manners upon that occasion, by telling Montrose that "he was a fagot of hell, and he saw him burning already." These clergy, as servile as they were tyrannical, took their notions of a nobleman's demeanour from Argyle.

in him to keep them back from it ;* and for bloodshed, if it could have been thereby prevented, he would rather it had all come out of his own veins. Then falling on the main business, they charged him with breach of Covenant. To which he answered, ‘ The Covenant which I took I own it and adhere to it. Bishops, I care not for them. I never intended to advance their interest. But when the king had granted you all your desires, and you were every one sitting under his vine and under his fig tree,—that then you should have taken a party in England by the hand, and entered into a League and Covenant with them against the King, was the thing I judged my duty to oppose to the yondmost.’ In the progress of their discoursing, which my author hath forgot, the marquis added, ‘ That course of theirs ended not but in the king’s death, and overturning the whole of the government.’ When one of the ministers answered, ‘ that was a *sectarian* party that rose up and carried things beyond the true and first intent of them,’—he said only, in reply, ‘ Error is infinite.’ After other discourses, when they were risen and upon their feet to go away, Mr Guthrie said,—‘ As we were appointed by the Commission of the General Assembly to confer with you, to bring you, if it could be obtained, to some sense of your guilt, so we had, if we had found you penitent, power from the same Commission, to release you from that sentence of excommunication under which you lie. But now since we find it far otherwise with you, and that you maintain your former course, and all these things for which that sentence passed upon you, we must, with sad hearts, leave you under the same, unto the judgment of the great God, having the fearful apprehension, that *what is*

* The instance that has been chiefly urged against Montrose is the laying waste Argyle’s country in the end of the year 1644. Referring to that expedition, Patrick Gordon says, “ Although out of a generous and merciful disposition, Montrose would have spared the people, yet the Clandonald, wheresoever they found any that were able to bear arms, did without mercy despatch them.” But, at any rate, Argyle’s clergymen were not entitled to use this argument against Montrose, as may be seen at p. 455.

bound in earth, God will bind in heaven.' To which he replied, 'I am very sorry that any actions of mine have been offensive to the Church of Scotland, and I would, with all my heart, be reconciled with the same. But since I cannot obtain it on any other terms,—unless I call that my sin which I account to have been my duty,—I cannot, for all the reason and conscience in the world.' This last expression is somewhat short; but my author tells me he remembers it distinctly, and the marquis had those very words, neither more nor less. This is an exact copy of what I took from Mr Simson's mouth, September 20th, 1710.

"He tells me further, that on Friday, or Saturday, Mr David Dickson was with Montrose, but gained no ground on him; that the Parliament would allow him no knife nor weapon in the room with him, lest he should have done harm to himself. When he heard this, he said to his keeper: 'You need not be at so much pains. Before I was taken I had a prospect of this cruel treatment, and if my conscience would have allowed me, I could have despatched myself.' After the ministers had gone away, and he had been a little his alone, my author being in the outer room with Colonel Wallace, he took his breakfast, a little bread dipt in ale. He desired leave to have a barber to shave him, which was refused him; my author thinks on the former reason. When Colonel Wallace told him, from the persons sent to, that he could not have that favour, my author heard him say,—'*I could not think but they would have allowed that to a dog.*' This same day, between 10 and 12, he was called to the bar, and got his sentence, to be hanged and quartered, his head to remain at Edinburgh, one quarter to Glasgow, another to Aberdeen, &c. When he got notice that this was to be his sentence, either in the prison or when coming from the bar he said—'*It becomes them rather to be hangmen than me to be hanged.*' He expected and desired to be headed."*

* Orig. MS. signed "Ro. Wodrow," *Advocates' Library.*

Although he had been scarcely suffered to snatch an hour's repose, the hero came to the bar with a presence as dignified and becoming as he was permitted to assume, and a mind as composed and collected as ever. Being conducted to the place appointed for *delinquents*, "he presented himself in a suit of black cloth, and a scarlet coat to his knee, trimmed with silver galouns, lined with crimson tafta; on his head a beaver hat and silver band. He looked somewhat pale, lank-faced, and hairy."* Immediately the chancellor, Loudon, assailed him in a prepared speech, composed of the usual violent invective, or, as the Wigton manuscript has it, "*snivelled out*† a long premeditated discourse, of his miscarriages against the first Covenant, and the League Covenant, his invasion, his joining with the Irish rebels, and his blood-guiltiness, and that now God had brought him to his just punishment." Montrose, who had uncovered himself, then requested to know if it was their pleasure to hear him in defence, and being suffered to reply, delivered this admirable speech, which he had little time, if any, to prepare beforehand:—

"Since you have declared to me that you have agreed with the king, I look upon you as if his majesty were sitting amongst you, and in that relation I appear with this reverence, bareheaded. My care has been always to walk as

* Balfour's Notes. This corroborates the former account, that he was not permitted to be shaved.

† This was characteristic. In a fanatical letter from the Earl of Abercorn to Lauderdale, dated Edinburgh, 27th December 1648, referring to Loudon's tergiversation, the following occurs: "My Lord Chancellor made his *solemn repentance* in Master Robert Douglas's kirk; where, in a speech, he did relate many of the errors he had committed in his last employment in England; and especially his great breach of Covenant, and horrible fault in the Isle of Wight; which he did acknowledge with such *abundance of tears*, that, as it is reported, they did draw a great many of the like from the auditors; such as, the minister himself, the *Marquis of Argyle*, and *Lord Wariston*, and many *tender-hearted ladies*, with a great many others of both sexes who were present."—*Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii. p. 463. See before, p. 443.

became a good Christian and loyal subject. I did engage in the first Covenant, and was faithful to it. When I perceived some private persons, under colour of religion, intend to wring the authority from the king, and to seize on it for themselves, it was thought fit, for the clearing of honest men, that a bond should be subscribed, wherein the security of religion was sufficiently provided for. For the League, I thank God I was never in it, and so could not break it. How far religion has been advanced by it, and what sad consequences followed on it, these poor distressed kingdoms can witness. When his late Majesty had, by the blessing of God, almost subdued those rebels that rose against him in England, and a faction of this kingdom went in to the assistance of the rebels, his Majesty gave commission to me to come into this kingdom, to make a diversion of those forces which were going from this against him. I acknowledge the command; it was most just, and I conceived myself bound in conscience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in that country, many of you may bear witness. Disorders in arms cannot be prevented, but they were no sooner known than punished. *Never was any man's blood spilt but in battle, and even then many thousand lives have I preserved; and I dare here avow, in the presence of God, that never a hair of Scotman's head, that I could save, fell to the ground.* And as I came in upon his Majesty's warrant, so upon his letters did I lay aside all interests (of my own) and retire. And as for my coming at this time, it was by his Majesty's just commands, in order to the accelerating of the treaty betwixt him and you, his Majesty knowing that when ever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call. I may justly say, that never subject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by so lawful a power, as I did in these services.* And therefore, I desire you to lay aside prejudice, and consider me as a Christian, in relation to the justice of the

* This is most thoroughly established by the original letters of Charles I. and Charles II., now produced from the Montrose charter-chest.

quarrel,—as a subject, in relation to my royal master's command,—and as your neighbour, in relation to *the many of your lives I have preserved in battle*. And be not too rash, but let me be judged by the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and the laws of this land. If otherwise, then I do here appeal from you to the righteous Judge of the world, who one day must be your Judge and mine, and who always gives out righteous judgment."

"This," adds the MS. "he delivered with such a gravity and composedness as was admirable."*

The Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour, was no friend to Montrose, and in his notes of the proceedings in Parliament, he merely alludes in general and slighting terms to the defence just given. To it, he says, "The Lord Chancellor replied, punctually proving him, *by his acts of hostility*,† to be a person most infamous, perjured, treacherous, and of all that ever this land brought forth,‡ *the most cruel and inhuman butcher and murderer of his nation*, a sworn enemy to the Covenant and peace of his country, and one whose boundless pride and ambition had lost the father, and by his wicked counsels had done what in him lay to destroy the son likewise." But even through Balfour's unfriendly and partial record there shines forth an irrepressible admiration of the demeanour of their noble victim; for he thus continues:—"He made no reply, but was commanded to sit down on his knees, and receive his sentence, which he did: *Archibald Johnston*, the clerk-register, read it, and the dempster gave the doom; and immediately rising from off his knees, he was removed thence to the prison. He behaved himself all this time in the house with a great deal of courage and modesty, unmoved and undaunted,

* The Wigton MS.

† The virulence of Loudon's presidency on this occasion was increased, as its indecency was aggravated, by the fact of the destruction of the clan Campbell at the battle of Inverlochy, where also fell the chancellor's elder brother, the Laird of Lawers.

‡ See before, p. 455.

as appeared, only he sighed two several times, and rolled his eyes alongst all the corners of the house ; and, at the reading of the sentence, *he lifted up his face*, without any word speaking."

A diary left in manuscript by the Rev. Robert Trail himself, enables us to follow the renounced nobleman from the parliament-house back to his prison.

" When the Marquis of Montrose was brought into the parliament-hall to receive his sentence, I was present, with some others of the ministers of the town, and heard his sentence read unto him, he being in the pannel, and commanded to kneel on his knees while it was a reading, which he did, but very unwillingly. After it had been fully read, he answered,—‘ That, according to our Scots proverb, a messenger should neither be headed nor hanged.’* My Lord Loudon being then president of the parliament, replied very well, ‘ that it was he, and such as he, that were a great snare to princes, and drew them to give such bloody commissions.’ After that he was carried back to prison, the Commission of the Kirk, then sitting, did appoint Mr James Hamilton, Mr Robert Baillie, Mr Mungo Law, and me, to go and visit him in the prison ; for he being some years before excommunicated, none except his nearest relations might converse with him.† But, by a warrant from the Kirk, we staid a while with him about his *soul’s condition*. But we found him continuing in his *old pride*, and taking very ill what was spoken to him, saying,—‘ *I pray, you, gentlemen, let me die in peace.*’ It was answered, that he might die in true peace, being reconciled to the Lord, and to *his Kirk*. He went aside to a corner of the chamber, and there spoke a little time with Mr Robert Baillie alone ; and thereafter we left him. Mr Baillie, at our coming out of the tolbooth, told us, that what he spoke to him was only concerning some of his personal sins in his

* Sir James Balfour had not observed this remark.

† That is, according to the rule of excommunication. For, upon this occasion, no friend or relation was suffered to be with Montrose.

conversation, but nothing concerning the things for which he was condemned.* We returned to the commission, and did show unto them what had passed amongst us. They, seeing that for the present he was not desiring relaxation from his censure of excommunication, did appoint Mr Mungo Law, and me, to attend on the morrow upon the scaffold, at the time of his execution, that in case he should desire to be relaxed from his excommunication, we should be allowed to give it unto him in the name of the Kirk, and to pray with him, and for him, *that what is loosed in earth might be loosed in heaven.*"

But this clergyman has not recorded a remark of the hero's at this interview, which has been preserved in the Wigton manuscript :—" He was no sooner carried back to prison, than the ministers with fresh assaults invaded him, aggravating the terror of the sentence, in order to affright him. He said he was much beholden to the parliament for the honour they put on him ; for, says he, ' I think it a greater honour to have my head standing on the port of this town, for this quarrel, than to have my picture in the king's bed-chamber. I am beholden to you that, lest my loyalty should be forgotten, ye have appointed five of your most eminent towns to bear witness of it to posterity.' His friends were not suffered to come near him ; and a guard was kept in the chamber beside him, so that he had no time or place for his private devotions, but in their hearing. Yet it is acknowledged by them all that he rested as kindly those nights, except sometimes when at his prayers, as ever they themselves did." Of this command of mind, indeed, he has afforded to the world a most striking proof, in the verses which he composed on the eve of his execution, and which, in a solemn appeal to the

* This was the same person whose letters have been so often quoted in this volume. The marquis was not likely to make an auricular confession of any consequence to this clergyman, nor was Baillie likely to have concealed it if he had. It is singular, and to be regretted, that among his letters and journals, there is not one on the subject of Montrose's execution.

mercy of God, as he told his murderers he would prefer, thus expressed a Christian disregard of their inventive cruelty :—

Let them bestow on every airth* a limb,
Then open all my veins,—that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,—
Then place my parboil'd head upon a stake,
Scatter my ashes—strew them in the air :—
Lord ! since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the just !

Early next morning, being Tuesday, 21st May 1650, “hearing the whole town resounding with the noise of drums and trumpets, he asked the captain of the guard what it meant, who told him that it was to call out the citizens and soldiers to arms, for that the parliament was afraid a mob or tumult might be excited at his execution by the malignants, of whom he confessed there were great numbers who favoured him, and might possibly make an attempt to rescue him. To which the marquis replied, ‘Do I, who have been such a terror to these worthies during my life, continue still so formidable to them now, when about to die ! But let them look to themselves ; for, even after I am dead, I will be continually present to their wicked consciences, and become more dreadful to them than when in life.’ Soon after, Sir Archibald Johnston, a member of their parliament, a sullen melancholic man, intruding upon his privacy, and impertinently asking what he was about, Montrose meanwhile combing his hair,—he answered with a smile, ‘While my head is my own, I will dress and adorn it ; but when it becomes yours, you may treat it as you please.’”†

In the centre of the Grassmarket of Edinburgh there was erected an ample stage, from which arose a gallows, with its corresponding ladder, of the extraordinary height of thirty feet ; to which place, from the prison, Montrose had to walk. No friend

* *Airth*. Point of the compass.

† Wishart.

or relation was permitted to accompany him, or sustain his spirit by their presence on the scaffold. But he had been allowed to adorn himself as he pleased ; and, accordingly, at two o'clock in the afternoon he came forth, stepping with that graceful firmness which caused the spectators to exclaim, ' there goes the finest gallant in the realm ! ' The manuscript diary of an eyewitness* has preserved to us this portrait :—" In his down-going, from the tolbooth to the place of execution, he was very richly clad in fine scarlet, laid over with rich silver-lace,—his hat in his hand,—his bands and cuffs exceeding rich,—his delicate white gloves on his hands,—his stockings of incarnate [flesh-coloured] silk,—and his shoes with their ribands on his feet,—and sarks [embroidered linen] provided for him, with pearling [lace] about, above ten pund the elne. All these were provided for him by his friends,† and a pretty cassock put on upon him, upon the scaffold, wherein he was hanged. To be short, nothing was here deficient to honour his poor carcase, more be seeming a bridegroom, nor [than] a criminal going to the gallows."

To the bitter disappointment of his enemies, Montrose went through this trying scene with the magnanimity of a hero, the dignity of a nobleman, the grace and gallantry of a perfect gentleman, and the well-grounded hope of a true Christian. He was not permitted to address the people from the scaffold, but this admirable speech to those around him, uttered in the midst of unseasonable interrogatories and interruptions, was taken in short-hand, by one appointed on the scaffold for that purpose, and was circulated at the time :—

" I am sorry if this manner of my end be scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous

* John Nicholl, writer to the signet, and notary-public in Edinburgh at the time. His diary, preserved in the Advocates' Library, has been printed for the Bannatyne Club.

† Probably his female friends, Lady Napier, the Lady of Keir, and Lillias Napier. His countess does not appear to have been alive at this time ; and his most devoted friends of the other sex were in exile.

according to the ways of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the ways of the righteous ! Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his malice ! They who know me should not disesteem me for this. Many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind. Yet I must not say but that all God's judgments are just. For my private sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God,—I submit myself to Him. But in regard of man, I may say they are but instruments,—God forgive them—I forgive them. They have oppressed the poor, and violently perverted judgment and justice,—but He that is higher than the highest will regard. What I did in this kingdom was in obedience to the most just commands of my lawful Sovereign,—*for his defence, in the day of his distress*, against those that did rise up against him. I acknowledge nothing, but to fear God and honour the King, according to the commandments of God, and the laws of nature and nations. I have not sinned against man, but against God, and *with Him there is mercy*, which is the ground of my drawing near unto Him. It is objected against me by many, even good people, that I am under the censure of the church. This is not my fault, since it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my prince's most just commands, for religion, his sacred person, and authority. Yet I am sorry they did excommunicate me,—and, in that which is according to God's laws, without wronging my conscience or allegiance, I desire to be relaxed. If *they* will not thus do it, I appeal to *God*, who is the righteous Judge of the world, and who must now be my Judge and *Saviour*. It is spoken of me that I blame the King ! God forbid. For the late King,—he lived a saint, and died a martyr. I pray God I may end so. *If ever I would wish my soul in another man's stead, it were in his*. For his majesty now living, never people, I believe, might be more happy in a king. His commands to me were most just. In nothing that he promiseth will he fail. He deals justly with all men. I pray God he be so dealt with, that he be not *betrayed under trust as his father was*. I desire not to be mistaken, as if my carriage at

this time, in relation to your ways, were stubborn. I do but follow the light of my own conscience, which is seconded by the working of the good spirit of God that is within me. I thank Him I go to heaven's throne with joy. If He enable me against the fear of death, and furnish me with courage and confidence to embrace it even in its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my damnation. Yet I say not this out of any fear or distrust, but out of my duty to God, and love to his people. I have no more to say, but that I desire your charity and prayers. I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God,—my service to my prince,—my good-will to my friends,—and my name, and charity, to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my conscience." Being desired to pray apart, he said, "I have already poured out my soul before the Lord, who knows my heart, and into whose hands I have commended my spirit; and he hath been graciously pleased to return to me a full assurance of peace, in Jesus Christ my Redeemer."*

When Dr Wishart's work and his own declaration were brought to be bound to his back, he assisted to fasten them, saying, "I did not feel more honoured when his majesty sent me the garter." He prayed for some time with his hat before his eyes. The ministers, Trail and Law, attended on the scaffold in terms of their orders; and the former notes in his diary: "But he did not at all desire to be relaxed from his excommunication in the name of the Kirk,—yea, *did not look towards that place on the scaffold where we stood*; only he drew apart some of the magistrates, and spake a while with them; and then went up the ladder, in his red scarlet cassock, *in a very stately manner*, and never spoke a word; but, when the executioner was putting the cord about his neck, he looked down to the people upon the scaffold, and asked, 'How long shall I hang here?' When my colleague and I saw him casten over

* Wigton MS. Wishart. The speech is also noted by the Lord Lyon in words nearly identical.

the ladder we returned to the Commission, and related the matter as it was."

The following additional particulars, printed two years after Montrose's death, are not mentioned in the Wigton manuscript, but must have been noted by some one who had witnessed the sad catastrophe :—*

"He was very earnest that he might have the liberty to keep on his hat,—it was denied : he requested he might have the privilege to keep his cloak about him,—neither could that be granted. Then, with a most undaunted courage, he went up to the top of that prodigious gibbet, where, having freely pardoned the executioner, he gave him three or four pieces of gold, and inquired of him how long he should hang there, who said three hours ; then commanding him at the uplifting of his hands to tumble him over, he was accordingly thrust off by the weeping executioner. The whole people gave a general groan ; and it was very observable that even those who at his first appearance had bitterly inveighed against him, could not now abstain from tears. 'Tis said, that Argyle's expressions had something of grief in them, and that he did likewise weep at the rehearsal of his death, for he was not present at the execution. But they were by many called crocodile's tears,—how truly, I leave to others' judgment.† But I am sure there did in his son, the Lord Lorn, appear no such sign ; who neither had so much tenderness of heart as to be sorry, nor so much

* "Montrose Redivivus. London, printed for Jo. Ridley, at the Castle in Fleet Street, near Ram-alley, 1652."—*Scarce*.

† In a letter dated the day after Montrose's execution, and addressed to Lothian, then with his majesty at Breda, Argyle speaks of "the tragic end of James Graham at this cross," who, he adds, "was warned to be sparing in speaking to the king's disadvantage, *else he had done it*." This, which was meant for the king's ear, was as false as it was mean. Argyle also says, "he got *some* resolution, after he came here, how to go out of this world, but nothing at all how to enter into another." This letter is printed by Mr Sharpe, in his edition of Kirkton, from the original in the archives of Lothian. In the Appendix will be found some further illustrations of Argyle's meanness, in connexion with this most foul murder.

paternal wit as to dissemble ; entertaining his new bride, the Earl of Moray's daughter, with this spectacle, he mocked and laughed in the midst of that weeping assembly ; and staying afterwards to see him hewn in pieces, triumphed at every stroke which was bestowed upon his mangled body. For being cut down, without so much as any to receive his falling corps,* his head was smitten off, his arms by the shoulders, and his legs by the knees, and so put into several boxes made for the purpose ; the rest of his body was by three or four porters carried out to the public place of execution, called the *Boroughmuir*, answerable to that of Tyburn by London, but walled about, and there was it thrown into a hole ; afterwards it was digged up by night, and the linen in which it was folded stolen away."

It was not, however, by sacrilegious robbers that his dreary sepulchre had been so soon violated. Hard by stood (and yet stands) the old castle of Merchiston, where resided at this time Lady Napier and her family, and with her, probably, those other nieces of Montrose who had suffered imprisonment for his sake,—Lord Napier and Keir being both in exile. Upon the night of the 23d of May, "some adventurous spirits," acting under the instructions of this noble lady, broke open the unhallowed tomb, and carefully extracting the heart of the hero from his mutilated trunk, brought it to her, wrapped, it would appear, in the fine linen mentioned in the contemporary account as having been stolen away in the night-time. There is, to this hour, carefully preserved in the Napier charter-chest, along with the manuscripts which have aided these illustrations of the life and character of Montrose, a piece of the finest linen, evidently very ancient, about three feet square, tasselled at the corners like a pall, and trimmed all round with a border of antique lace, probably what Nicholl, in his description of the marquis's dress, describes as "pearling above ten pund the elne." This sheet appears to have been

* Nicholl, in his *Diary*, says that the body fell on its face, no one being on the scaffold but the executioners.

wrapped round something that had marked it, particularly towards the centre, with various stains and blotches of different hues, and which are at once accounted for if the linen had been used in the manner supposed. From time immemorial it has been kept in the archives of this Lady Napier's descendants, as a precious relique stained with the blood of Montrose.* There can be little doubt that it is the fine linen in which his heart had been conveyed to her. With the idea, very natural under such circumstances, of redeeming this portion at least of his mortal remains from the indignities decreed them, his mourning relative consigned the heart, thus procured at great risk to herself, into the hands of the most skilful surgeon living in Edinburgh at the time, Mr James Callender, by whom it was "embalmed in the costliest manner." Ultimately it was sent by Lady Napier, "in a rich box of gold," to Montrose's eldest son, the second marquis, who

* Along with it, and also referred by the constant tradition of the family to Montrose's execution, are, a rich satin cap of a faded straw colour, lined with precisely the same kind of linen as that of which the bloody sheet is composed, and turned up with a broad border of beautiful antique lace; and, moreover, a pair of knit thread stockings, a rarity in those days. The cap is of the costume to be seen in the portraits of some of the dignitaries of the reign of Charles I. Upon the satin is a single small stain of what may have been blood, and the lace appears to have been spotted with the same. The stockings are not at all worn, and the thread is of a glossy texture. But they appear to have been washed and folded since they were used. The tops of them, which must have reached above the knee, have been saturated with something that has now the appearance of faded blood, diminishing downwards, and in one of the stockings extending in a streak to the instep. This is pointed out as the blood of Montrose; and the fact of hewing off the limbs, when the stockings were shoved down below the knees, would sufficiently account for those appearances, which cannot be accounted for in any other way. They are now of a dusky yellow colour; but in one of the folds appears the remains of a pink or *carnation* colour, as if an original dye of the stockings washed or worn out. Even the circumstance that such extraordinary relics have been so preserved, and handed down in this family, with the invariable tradition that they are part of the bloody clothes of Montrose's execution, goes far to prove the fact.

had previously taken refuge in Flanders, in company with her husband, to avoid the education intended to have been inflicted upon him by the General Assembly. All this rests upon the most unquestionable contemporary evidence.* The history of this romantic relique is obscured for a while : but some time, in the last century, the great-grandfather of the writer of these pages recovered, in Holland, what he never doubted was the embalmed heart of the loyal martyr, contained in the original cases wherein his niece had placed it ; namely, the inner case about the size and shape of an egg, formed out of the blade of the hero's own sword, and this again enclosed in a gold filagree box of Venetian workmanship, understood to have been originally presented to the inventor of logarithms, while travelling in Italy, by a doge of Venice. If the dead retain any affection for this " mortal coil," the spirit of the gallant and the good Montrose, whose last moments his enemies endeavoured to disturb with frightful thoughts of such cruel indignities, may be soothed by this consecration of his heart, and by the legend now attached to it, unequalled for interest even by that of the royal Bruce. The subsequent adventures of the treasure thus supposed to have been recovered, its perils by flood and field, are too well authenticated, by the letter printed in the Appendix, to require further illustration here. Whether this was actually the same as that which Lady Napier had so preserved,—the very dust of that heart which once beat so ardently, in a breast glowing with generous thoughts and the noblest ambition,—it was undoubtingly believed so to be by the intelligent and accomplished nobleman to whom it was restored,† and who valued it accordingly. As such, too, it was cherished in far distant climes which the hero himself never visited, and where, on the silver urn in which it was

* See the proofs at the end of Sir Alexander Johnston's letter, in the Appendix.

† Francis fifth Lord Napier, great-grandson of the lady who procured the heart, and great-great-grandfather of the present Lord Napier.

then deposited, some record of his fate was engraved in Tamil and Telugoo,—strange tongues of which his scholarship had never dreamt. But yet more congenial to the romance of his own dispositions is the fact, that over his sad story, thus recorded, a heart as heroic,—of one as unfortunate in his high aims, though haply not so illustrious in the page of history,—had throbbed with the sympathy and emulation of the brave. Yes, not the least worthy offering to the memory of the Christian hero, insulted by the grovelling malice of covenanting zeal, is that latest recollection of the Indian chief, who, “when he heard that he was to be executed immediately, alluded to the story of the urn, and expressed a hope to some of his attendants, that those who admired his conduct would preserve his heart in the same manner as the European warrior’s heart had been preserved in the silver urn.” Relieved upon the dark ground of Scottish fanaticism let that dying aspiration be preserved of the untutored Indian, generous and heroic in his emotions as he whose death-song the bard of Wyoming records,—

“ ‘ And I could weep,’—the Oneyda chief
His descant wildly thus begun,
‘ But that I may not stain with grief
The death-song of my father’s son.’ ”

APPENDIX.

THE HEART OF MONTROSE.

[The following letter, addressed to his daughters, was kindly transmitted to me by my relative, Sir Alexander Johnston. It contains an interesting statement, forming the sequel to the narrative respecting Montrose's Heart. I may mention that the writer of it, the Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnston, of her Majesty's Privy-Council, and formerly Chief-Justice of Ceylon, is now resident in London, and so well known that I need scarcely add he is in this country as remarkable for his patronage of historical antiquities and polite literature, as he is distinguished for the patriotic spirit and judicial abilities which he displayed at Ceylon.]

19, *Great Cumberland Place*,
1st July 1836.

MY DEAR DAUGHTERS,

I have great pleasure, at your request, in putting down upon paper for your amusement, all the circumstances, as well those which I have heard from my grandmother Lady Napier, and my mother, as those which I can myself recollect, relative to the story of the Heart of the Marquis of Montrose, and the silver urn which is represented as standing upon a table before her in the portrait of the wife of the second Lord Napier, which we have in our drawing-room.

My mother was, as you know, the only surviving daughter, at the time of his death, of her father, Francis the fifth Lord Napier of Merchiston; owing to this circumstance, she was a particular favourite of his, and was educated by him with the greatest care at Merchiston. The room in which she and her brothers, when children, used to say their lessons to him, was situated in that part of the tower of Merchiston in which John Napier had made all his mathematical discoveries, and in which, when she was a child, there were still a few of his books and instruments, and some of the diagrams which he had drawn upon the walls. In this room there were also four family portraits; one of John Napier, the Inventor of the Logarithms; one of the first Marquis of Montrose, who was executed at Edinburgh in

1650; one of Lady Margaret Graham, who was the marquis's sister, and was married to John Napier's son, Archibald the first Lord Napier; and one of Lady Elizabeth Erskine, who was the daughter of John the eighth Earl of Mar, and who was married to the marquis's nephew, Archibald second Lord Napier.*

My mother's father, by way of amusing her after her lessons were over, used frequently to relate to her, all the remarkable events which are connected with the history of the four persons represented in these portraits; and perceiving that she was particularly interested in the subject, he dwelt at length upon the history of the urn containing the heart of Montrose, as represented in the portrait of the wife of the second Lord Napier.

He related to her the following circumstances concerning it: He said, that the first Marquis of Montrose, being extremely partial to his nephew the second Lord Napier and his wife, had always promised at his death to leave his heart to the latter, as a mark of the affection which he felt towards her, for the unremitting kindness which she had shown to him in all the different vicissitudes of his life and fortune; that, on the marquis's execution, a confidential friend of her own, employed by Lady Napier, succeeded in obtaining for her the heart of the marquis; that she, after it had been embalmed by her desire, enclosed it in a little steel case, made of the blade of Montrose's sword, placed this case in a gold filagree box, which had been given to John Napier, the Inventor of Logarithms, by a doge of Venice, while he was on his travels in Italy, and deposited this box in a large silver urn, which had been presented some years before by the marquis to her husband, Lord Napier; that it had been Lady Napier's first intention to keep the gold box containing Montrose's heart in the silver urn upon a little table near her bed-side, and that she had the portrait of herself, of which the one in the drawing-room is a copy, painted at that time; but that she had subsequently altered her intention, and transmitted the gold box, with Montrose's heart in it, to the young Marquis of Montrose, who was then abroad with her husband, Lord Napier, in exile; that, for some reason or another, the gold box and heart had been lost sight of by both families, that of Montrose and that of Napier, for some time, until an intimate friend of his, the fifth Lord Napier, a gentleman of Guelderland, recognised, in the collection of a collector of curiosities in Holland, the identical gold filagree box with the steel case, and procured it for him, when he was in that country; but that he never could trace what had become of the large silver urn.

In the latter part of the life of her father, my mother was his con-

* The portraits mentioned by Sir Alexander are still in possession of Lord Napier, with the exception of that of Montrose, which I cannot trace. A great proportion of the Napier properties were sold after the death of the fifth lord, and some of the family pictures were either destroyed or dispersed.

stant companion; and was, as a young woman of sixteen, proceeding with him and her mother to France, when he was suddenly taken ill at Lewes, in Sussex, and died of the gout. Two days before his death, finding himself very weak, and believing at the time that there was little or no chance of his recovery, he told my mother that, owing to a great part of his family property having been forfeited at the time of Cromwell's usurpation, and to the unexpected expense he had been at in plans for carrying the Caledonian Canal into effect, he was much afraid that Merchiston would be sold after his death, and that he would have nothing to leave to her; but that, however, as she had always taken an interest in the story of the heart of Montrose, he would give her in his lifetime, which he then did in the presence of her mother, the gold filagree box containing it; and trusted that it would be valuable to her, as the only token of his affection which he might be able to leave her; and that it might hereafter remind her of the many happy hours which he had spent in instructing her while a child in the tower of Merchiston, and that, whatever vicissitudes of fortune might befall her, it might always afford her the satisfaction of being able to show that she was descended from persons who were distinguished in the history of Scotland, by their piety, their science, their courage, and their patriotism.

After my mother's marriage, and when I was about five years old, she, my father, and myself, were on the way to India, in the fleet commanded by Commodore Johnston, when it was attacked off the Cape de Verd Islands by the French squadron under Suffrein. One of the French frigates engaged the Indiaman in which we were, and my father, with our captain's permission, took command of four of the quarter-deck guns. My mother refused to go below, but remained on the quarter-deck with me at her side, declaring that no wife ought to quit her husband in a moment of such peril, and that we should both share my father's fate. A shot from the frigate struck one of these guns, killed two of the men, and with the splinters which it tore off the deck, knocked my father down, wounded my mother severely in the arm, and bruised the muscles of my right hand so severely, that, as you know, it is even now difficult for me at times to write, or even to hold a pen. My mother held me during the action with one hand, and with the other hand she held a large thick velvet reticule, in which she, conceiving that if the frigate captured the Indiaman the French crew would plunder the ship, had placed some of the things which she valued the most, including the pictures of her father and mother, and the gold filagree case containing the heart of Montrose. It was supposed that the splinter must have first struck the reticule, which hung loose in her hand, for, to her great distress, the gold filagree box, which was in it was shattered to pieces, but the steel case had resisted the blow. The frigate that attacked us was called off, and next day Commodore Johnston and Sir John M'Pherson,

who was with him in the flag-ship, came on board of the Indiaman, and complimented my father and mother in the highest terms for the encouragement which they had given the crew of their ship.

When in India, at Madura, my mother found a celebrated native goldsmith, who, partly from the fragments she had saved, and partly from her description, made as beautiful a gold filagree box as the one that had been destroyed. She caused him also to make for her a silver urn, like that in the picture, and to engrave on the outside of it in Tamil and Telugoo, the two languages most generally understood throughout the southern peninsula of India, a short account of the most remarkable events of Montrose's life, and of the circumstances of his death. In this urn my mother enclosed the gold filagree box containing the case with Montrose's heart, also two fragments of the former filagree box, and a certificate, signed by the gentleman of Guelderland, explaining the various circumstances which, in his and my grandfather's opinion, unquestionably proved it to contain the heart of Montrose. The urn was placed upon an ebony table that stood in the drawing-room of the house at Madura, which is now my property, and which I intend for a Hindoo College. My mother's anxiety about it gave rise to a report amongst the natives of the country that it was a *talisman*, and that whoever possessed it could never be wounded in battle or taken prisoner. Owing to this report it was stolen from her, and for some time it was not known what had become of it. At last she learnt that it had been offered for sale to a powerful chief, who had purchased it for a large sum of money.

My father was in the habit of sending me every year, during the hunting and shooting season, to stay with some one of the native chiefs who lived in the neighbourhood of Madura, for four months at a time, in order to acquire the various languages, and to practise the native gymnastic exercises. One day while I was hunting with the chief who was said to have purchased the urn, my horse was attacked by a wild hog, which we were pursuing, but I succeeded in wounding it so severely with my hunting pike, that the chief soon afterwards overtook and killed it. He was pleased with my conduct upon this occasion, and asked, before all his attendants, in what manner I would wish him to show his respect and regard for me. I said, if the report was really true, that he had bought the silver urn which belonged to my mother, he would do me a great favour by restoring it; and to induce him to do so, I explained to him all the circumstances connected with it. He replied that it was quite true that he had purchased it for a large sum, without knowing that it had been stolen from my mother, and he immediately added, that one brave man should always attend to the wishes of another brave man, whatever his religion or his nation might be; that he therefore considered it his duty to fulfil the wishes of the brave man whose heart was in

the urn, and whose wish it was that his heart should be kept by his descendants; and, for that reason, he would willingly restore it to my mother. Next day, after presenting me with six of his finest dogs, and two of his best matchlocks, he dismissed me with the urn in my possession, and with a present from himself to my mother of a gold dress, and some shawls, accompanied by a letter, expressing his great regret that he had innocently been the cause of her distress by purchasing the urn, which he assured her he would not have done had he known that it had been stolen from her.

This was the native chief so celebrated throughout the Southern Peninsula of India, who, thirty or forty years ago, rebelled against the authority of his supposed sovereign, the Nabob of Arcot, and who, after behaving with the most undaunted courage, was conquered by a detachment of English troops, and executed with many members of his family, as is fully described in the first volume of Major Welsh's *Military Reminiscences*. When, in 1807, I visited the site of this chief's former capital, and the scenes of my early sports in the Southern Peninsula of India, there were still two of his old servants alive, who used to have charge of his hunting dogs when I was with him. When they heard who I was, they came to me as I was travelling through the woods of their former master, and gave me a very detailed account of his last adventures, and of the fortitude with which he had met his death, telling me among other anecdotes of him, that when he heard that he was to be executed immediately, he alluded to the story of the urn, and expressed a hope to some of his attendants, that those who admired his conduct would preserve his heart in the same manner as the European warrior's heart had been preserved in the silver urn.

My father and mother returned to Europe in 1792, and being in France when the revolutionary government required all persons to give up their plate, and gold and silver ornaments, my mother intrusted the silver urn with Montrose's heart, to an Englishwoman of the name of Knowles, at Boulogne, who promised to secrete it until it could be sent safely to England. This person having died shortly afterwards, neither my mother or father in their lifetime, nor I myself since their death have ever been able to trace the urn, although every exertion has been made by me for the purpose, and although, within the last few years, I have received from the French Government the value of the plate and jewels which my father and mother had been compelled to give up to the municipality of Calais, in 1792. To the last hour of her life my mother deeply regretted this loss, and in July 1819, a few days before her death, expressed to me her wishes with regard to the urn, if it should ever be recovered by me.

As I frequently opened the urn, the new filagree box, and the steel case, after the native chief returned them to my mother, I will give you, from my own recollections, some account of the appearance

of the fragments of the old flagree box, and of the steel case and its contents.

The steel case was of the size and shape of an egg. It was opened by pressing down a little knob, as is done in opening a watch-case. Inside was a little parcel, supposed to contain all that remained of Montrose's heart, wrapped up in a piece of coarse cloth, and done over with a substance like glue. The gold flagree case was similar in workmanship to the ancient Venetian work in gold which you have frequently seen, particularly to that of the gilt worked vases in which the Venetian flasks at Warwick castle are enclosed. I have none of the fragments; they were always kept along with the writings on the subject within the silver urn. My grandfather never had a doubt that the steel case contained the heart of Montrose.

Believe me to be, my dear daughters,

Your most affectionate father,

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.

The proofs (referred to p. 499) that Montrose's heart was secretly abstracted, and embalmed by order of his niece, Lady Napier, are as follows :—

Thomas Sydserf, repeatedly mentioned in this volume, is well known to have been the writer of the Edinburgh *Mercurius Caledonius*, in the reign of Charles II., being a newspaper of the period. In that journal, dated "Edinburgh, Monday, January 7, 1661," he mentions: "This day, in obedience to the order of parliament, this city was alarmed with drums, and nine trumpets, to go in their best equipage and arms, for transporting the dismembered bodies of his excellency the Lord Marquis of Montrose, and that renowned gentleman Sir William Hay of Dalgety, murdered both, for their prowess and transcending loyalty to king and country; whose bodies, to their glory and their enemies' shame, had been ignominiously thrust in the earth, under the public gibbet, half a mile from town." After some description of the pageantry, he adds that they "went to the place, where, having chanced directly—however, possibly, *persons might have been present able to demonstrate*—on the same trunk, as *evidently appeared by the coffin*, which had been formerly broke a purpose by some of his friends, in that place nigh his chest, whence they *stole his heart*, embalmed it in the costliest manner, and *so reserves it*; as also by the trunk itself, found without the skull and limbs, distracted in the four chief towns of the nation; but these, through the industry and respect of friends carried to the martyr, are soon to welcome the rest." Sydserf then proceeds to give an account of the ceremony of taking down Montrose's head from the tolbooth, and adds, that these remains were conveyed with all pomp and solemnity to the abbey church of Holyroodhouse, "there to continue in state, until the noble Lord, his son, be ready for the more magnificent solemnization of his funerals."

Accordingly, upon the Saturday following occurred what has been called "the true funerals of Montrose," being the splendid and chivalrous pageant, ordered by the parliament, for the interment of the collected remains of Montrose in the grave of his grandfather, the viceroy of Scotland, in St Giles's church, where he was laid, amid the shouts of the populace, the repeated volleys of the train-bands, who lined the streets, and the roar of the cannon from the castle. A minute account of this splendid ceremonial was published at the time, the authorship of which is not doubtful, as in the procession are recorded, "Two secretaries, Master William Ord and *Master Thomas Sydsersf.*" The narrative now mentioned thus concludes: "All that belonged to the body of this great hero was carefully re-collected, only *his heart*, which, *two days* after the murder, in spite of the traitors, was, by conveyance of some adventurous spirits appointed by that noble and honourable lady, *the Lady Napier*, taken out, and embalmed in the most costly manner by that skilful chirurgeon and apothecary, *Mr James Callender*—then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the *now Lord Marquis*, who was then in Flanders. The solemnities being ended, the Lord Commissioner,* with the nobility and barons, had a most sumptuous supper and banquet at the Marquis of Montrose's house, with concerts of all sorts of music."

This circumstantial account, published in the lifetime of Lady Napier, and under the auspices of the very Marquis of Montrose to whom she sent the heart in the gold box, and which at that time was still in his possession, places the matter beyond doubt or question. The party whom Sydsersf points at as being "present and able to demonstrate" where the body lay under the gibbet, was most probably himself, as one of the "adventurous spirits" who had formerly broken into the grave. He had displayed his adventurous spirit in that cause before. See p. 321.

The theft of Montrose's heart had caused the covenanting government to take better care of their ghastly trophy on the tolbooth. Nicholl, in his diary, notes: "Because it was rumoured among the people, that James Graham's friends secretly intended to convey his head off the prick whereon it was set on the tolbooth of Edinburgh, therefore, within *six days* after his execution, there was a new cross prick appointed of iron, to cross the former prick whereon his head was fixed, which was speedily done, that his head should not be removed."

Some time, however, in the same year in which it was put up, a loyal

* The General Assembly was sitting at the time, to which Sydsersf thus alludes: "Some say that there was then a kind of collective body, or sort of *spiritual judiciary* in town, that would not be present at the funeral, *lest the bones should bleed.*"

attempt was made from the castle to bring it down with a cannon ball. In a scarce work, printed 1676, and entitled, "*Binning's Light to the Art of Gunnery*," it is stated: "in the year 1650, I was in the castle of Edinburgh. One remarkable instance I had, in shooting at that mirror of his time for loyalty and gallantry, James, marquis of Montrose's head, standing on the pinnacle of the tolbooth of Edinburgh,—but that Providence had ordered that head to be taken down with more honour. I admired of its abiding; for the ball took the stone joining to the stone whereon it stood, which stone fell down, and killed a drummer, and a soldier or two, on their march between the Luckenbooths and the church; and the head remained till, by his majesty, it was ordered to be taken down, and buried with such honour as was due to it."

The *Mercurius Caledonius* mentions that, on the scaffolding erected near the head for the purpose of taking it down, there stood, six stories high, "the Lord Napier, the Barons of Morphy, Inchbrakie, Urchell, and Gorthy." These barons were all Grahams, relations and personal friends of Montrose. How fearfully changed must that countenance have appeared to Inchbrakie, since the time when they went together to rouse the claymores in Blair Athol! The Lord Napier who stood there was Montrose's grandnephew, a youth of eighteen. His father had died in exile before he was six and thirty, probably of his "posterous love for his uncle." It was Graham of Gorthy who unfastened the head from the iron spike where it had communed with the elements during eleven years! Kirkton exultingly records, as a judgment of Providence, the curious fact that Gorthy died a few hours afterwards.

Very shortly after the scene now described, an ugly-looking instrument, delicately termed "the Maiden," and which is now to be seen in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, was brought out for the purpose of taking off a human head. The legal adviser of the individual so to suffer had been the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie, who left in manuscript a long account of the trial and death of his client, in which he says: "I remember that I having told him, a little before his death, that *the people believed he was a coward* and expected he would die timorously, he said to me he would not die as a Roman braving death, but he would die as a Christian without being affrighted. Yet some concluded that he died without courage, because he shifted to lay down his head, and protracted time by speaking at all the corners of the scaffold, which was not usual, and buttoning his doublet twice or thrice after he was ready to throw it off." Such speculation was there about the state of this individual's nerves, that his own doctor insulted him on the scaffold by feeling his pulse to ascertain that he had not already died of fright. The sincerity of his religion and the certainty of his salvation were understood to have been proved before his death, by a supernatural vision, the evidence for which was his own declara-

tion of the fact ; and his courage was demonstrated, after his death, by the appearance of his digestive organs upon dissection. Need I say, that this was ARGYLE, and that his head immediately occupied the spike from which Montrose's had just been removed.

Some time after this scene, another prisoner was brought up the High Street, bareheaded, to the council-house, where, says Sir George Mackenzie, "the Chancellor and others waited to examine him ; he fell upon his face, *roaring*, and with tears entreated they would pity a poor creature who had forgot all that was in the Bible. This moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy ; and the Chancellor, reflecting upon the man's great parts, former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind. At his examination, he pretended that he had lost so much blood, by the unskilfulness of his surgeons, that he lost his memory with his blood ; and I really believe that his courage had indeed been drawn out with it. Within a few days he was brought before the Parliament, where he discovered nothing but much weakness, *running up and down upon his knees begging mercy* : but the Parliament ordained his former sentence to be put to execution, and accordingly he was executed at the cross of Edinburgh. At his execution he showed more composure than formerly, which his friends ascribed to God's miraculous kindness for him ; but others thought that he had only formerly put on this disguise of madness, to escape death in it ; and that finding the mask useless, he had returned, not to his wit which he had lost, but from his madness which he had counterfeited." It was ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON. After being hanged, his head was spiked over the Westbow of Edinburgh, beside that of his late friend, *the Reverend James Guthrie*, who had been hanged before him.

MONTROSE'S LETTER ON SOVEREIGN POWER.

[Referred to p. 157, note. This letter is taken from a transcript in the handwriting of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, *Advocates' Library*. It is neither addressed nor dated, but must have been written before Montrose was imprisoned by the government of Argyle in 1641, probably about the close of the year 1640, the time of those private conferences with his friends which have been already narrated. From this letter, too, we may learn the style and character of those addresses to the Scotch Parliament of 1639 and 1640, by which Montrose first gained the ill will of his enemies, when he argued in opposition to Rothes, Argyle, Loudon, and the Procurator of the Kirk.]

"NOBLE SIR,

"In the letter you did me the honour to send me, you move a

question in *two words*, to give a satisfactory answer to which requires works and volumes, not letters. Besides, the matter is of so sublime and transcendent a nature, as is above my reach and not fit for subjects to meddle with, if it were not to do right to sovereign power, in a time when *so much is said and done to the disgrace and derogation of it*. Nevertheless, to obey your desire, I will deliver my opinion, first, concerning the nature, essential parts, and practice of the supreme power in government of all sorts. Secondly, I will show wherein the strength and weakness thereof consists, and the effects of both. Thirdly, I will answer some arguments and false positions maintained by the impugners of royal power, and that without partiality, and as briefly as I can.

“ Civil societies, so pleasing to Almighty God, cannot subsist without government, nor government without a sovereign power, to force obedience to laws and just commands, to dispose and direct private endeavours to public ends, and to unite and incorporate the several members into one body politic, that with joint endeavours and abilities they may the better advance the public good. This sovereignty is a *power over the people*, above which power there is none upon earth, whose acts cannot be rescinded by any other, instituted by God, for his glory and the temporal and eternal happiness of men. This is it that is recorded so oft, by the wisdom of ancient times, to be sacred and inviolable,—the truest image and representation of the power of Almighty God upon earth,—not to be bounded, disputed, meddled with at all by subjects, who can never handle it, though never so warily, but it is thereby wounded, and the public peace disturbed. Yet it is limited by the laws of God and nature, and some laws of nations, and by the fundamental laws of the country, which are those upon which sovereign power itself resteth, in prejudice of which a king can do nothing, and those also which secure to the good subject his honour, his life, and the property of his goods. This power (not speaking of those who are kings in name only, and in effect but *Principes Nobilitatis* or *Duces Belli*, nor of the arbitrary and despotic power where one is head and all the rest slaves, but of that which is *sovereign over free subjects*) is still one and the same, in points essential, wherever it be, whether in the person of a *monarch*, or in a *few principal men*, or in the *estates of the people*. The essential points of sovereignty are these :—To make laws, to create principal officers, to make peace and war, to give grace to men condemned by law, and to be the last to whom appellation is made. There be others, too, which are comprehended in those set down, but because majesty doeth not so clearly shine in them they are here omitted. These set down are inalienable, indivisible, incommunicable, and belong to the sovereign power primitively in all sorts of governments. They cannot subsist in a body composed of individuities ; and if they be divided amongst several bodies, there is no government (as if there were many kings

in one kingdom there should be none at all), for whosoever should have one of these, were able to erase their proceedings who have all the rest; for the having them *negative* and *prohibitive* in that part to him belonging, might render the acts of all the others invalid, and there would be a superiority to the supreme, and an equality to the sovereign power, which cannot fall in any man's conceit that hath common sense; in speech it is incongruity, and to attempt it in act is pernicious.

"Having in some measure expressed the nature of supreme power, it shall be better known by the actual practice of all nations, in all the several sorts of government, as well republics as monarchies.

"The people of ROME (who were masters of policy, and war too, and to this day are made patterns of both), being an *estate popular*, did exercise without controlment or opposition all the fore-named points essential to supreme power. No law was made but by the people; and though the senate did propound and advise a law to be made, it was the people that gave it sanction; and it received the force of law from their command and authority, as may appear by the respective phrases of the propounder, *quod faustum felixque sit, vobis populoque Romano velitis jubeatis*. The people used these imperative words, *esto sunt*; and if it were refused, the Tribune of the people expressed it with a *veto*. The propounder or adviser of the law was said *rogare legem*, and the people *jubere legem*. The election of officers was only made by the people, as appears by the ambitious buying and begging of suffrages so frequent among them upon the occasions. War and peace was ever concluded by them, and never denounced but by their *Feciales*, with commission from them. They only gave grace and pardon, and for the last refuge, delinquents, and they who were wronged by the sentence of judges and officers, *provocabant ad populum*.

"So it was in ATHENS, and to this day among the SWISSERS and GRISSONS, the estate of HOLLAND, and all estates popular. In VENICE, which is a *pure aristocracy*, laws, war, peace, election of officers, pardon and appellation are all concluded and done in *conciglio Maggiore*, which consists of principal men who have the sovereignty. As for the *pregadi*, and *conciglio di dièci*, they were but officers and executors of their power, and the duke is nothing but the *idol* to whom ceremonies and compliments are addressed, without the least part of sovereignty. So it was in SPARTA, so it is in LUCCA, GENOA, and RAGUSA, and all other aristocracies, and, indeed, cannot be otherwise without the subversion of the present government.

"If, then, the lords in republics have that power essential to sovereignty, by what reason can it be denied to a prince in whose person only and primitively resteth the sovereign power, and from whom all lawful subaltern power, as from the fountain, is derived?

"This power is strong and durable when it is temperate, and it is

temperate when it is possessed (with the essential parts foresaid) with moderation, and limitation by the laws of God, of nature, and the fundamental laws of the country. It is weak when it is restrained of these essential parts, and it is weak also when it is extended beyond the laws whereby it is bounded; which could never be any time endured by the people of the western part of the world, and by those of Scotland as little as any. For that which Galba said of his Romans is the humour of them all, *nec totam libertatem nec totam servitutem pati possunt* but a temper of both. Unwise princes endeavour the extension of it,—rebellious and turbulent subjects the restraint. Wise princes use it moderately, but most desire to extend it, and that humour is fomented by advice of courtiers and bad councillors, who are of a hasty ambition, and cannot abide the slow progress of riches and preferments in a temperate government. They persuade the arbitrary with reflection on their own ends, knowing that the exercise thereof shall be put upon them, whereby they shall be able quickly to compass their ends, robbing thereby the people of their wealth, the king of the people's love due to him, and of the honour and reputation of wisdom. The effects of a moderate government are religion, justice, and peace,—flourishing love of the subjects towards their prince in whose heart he reigns,—durableness and strength against foreign invasions, and intestine sedition,—happiness and security to king and people. The effect of a prince's power too far extended is tyranny: from the king if he be ill,—if he be good, tyranny or a fear of it from them to whom he hath intrusted the management of public affairs. The effect of the royal power restrained is the oppression and tyranny of subjects,—*the most fierce, insatiable, and insupportable tyranny in the world*,—where every man of power oppresseth his neighbour, without any hope of redress from a prince despoiled of his power to punish oppressors. The people under an extended power are miserable, but most miserable under the restrained power. The effects of the former may be cured by good advice, satiety in the prince, or fear of infamy, or the pains of writers, or by some event which may bring a prince to the sense of his errors, and when nothing else can do it, seeing the prince is mortal, patience in the subject is a sovereign and dangerless remedy, who in wisdom and duty is obliged to tolerate the vices of his prince, as they do storms and tempests, and other natural evils which are compensated with better times succeeding. It had been better for Germany to have endured the encroachments of Ferdinand, and after his death rectified them, before they had made a new election, than to have brought it to desolation, and shed so much Christian blood by unseasonable remedies and opposition. But when a king's lawful power is restrained, the politic body is in such desperate estate that it can neither endure the disease nor the remedy, which is force only. For princes, lawful power is only restrained by violence, and never repaired but by violence on the other side, which can produce nothing

but ruin to prince or people, or rather to both. Patience in the subject is the best remedy against the effects of a prince's power too far extended; but when it is too far restrained, patience, in the prince, is so far from being a remedy that it formeth and increaseth the disease, for patience, tract of time, and *possession*, makes that which was at first robbery, by a body that never dies, at last a *good title*, and so the government comes at last to be changed. To procure a temperate and moderate government, there is much in the king and not a little in the people, for, let a prince never command so well, if there be not a correspondent obedience there is no temper. It is *not* the people's part, towards that end, to take upon them to limit and circumscribe royal power—it is Jupiter's thunder which never subject handled well yet—*not*, to determine what is due to a prince, what to his people. It requires more than human sufficiency to go so even a way betwixt the prince's prerogative, and the subjects' privilege, as to content both, or be just in itself, for they can never agree upon the matter, and where it hath been attempted, as in some places it hath, the sword did ever determine the question, *which is to be avoided by all possible means*. But there is a fair and justifiable way for subjects to procure a moderate government, incumbent to them in duty, which is to *endeavour the security of religion and just liberties* (the matter on which the exorbitancy of a prince's power doth work), which being secured, his power must needs be temperate and run in the even channel. 'But,' it may be demanded, 'how shall the people's *just* liberties be preserved if they be not known, and how known if they be not determined to be such?' It is answered, the *laws contain them*, and the parliaments (which ever have been the bulwarks of subjects' liberties in monarchies) may advise new laws, against emergent occasions which prejudice their liberties; and so leave it to occasion, and not prevent it by foolish haste in parliaments, which breeds contention, and disturbance to the quiet of the state. And if parliaments be frequent, and *rightly constituted*, what *favourite* councillor or statesman dare misinform or mislead a king to the prejudice of a subject's liberty, knowing he must answer it at the peril of his head and estate at the next ensuing parliament, and that he shall put the king to an hard choice for him, either to abandon him to justice, or by protecting him displease the estates of his kingdom; and if the king should be so ill advised as to protect him, yet he doth not escape punishment that is branded with a mark of public infamy, declared enemy to the state, and incapable of any good amongst them.

"The perpetual cause of the controversies, between the prince and his subjects, is the ambitious designs of *rule in great men*, veiled under the *specious pretext* of religion and the subjects' liberties, seconded with the arguments and false positions of *sedition preachers*, 1st, That the king is ordained for the people, and the end is more noble than the mean; 2d, That the constitutor is superior to the con-

stituent ; 3d, That the king and people are two contraries, like the two scales of a balance, when the one goes up the other goes down; 4th, That the prince's prerogative, and the people's privilege are incompatible ; 5th, What power is taken from the king is added to the estates of the people. This is the language of the *spirits of division that walk betwixt the king and his people*, to separate them whom God hath conjoined (which must not pass without some answer), to slide upon which sandy grounds these giants, who war against the gods, have builded their Babel.

" To the 1st, It is true that the true and utmost *ends* of men's actions (which is the glory of God and felicity of men), are to be preferred to all *means* directed thereunto. But there is not that order of dignity among the means themselves, or mid instruments compounded together. If it were so, and a man appointed to keep sheep, or a nobleman to be tutor-in-law to a pupil of meaner quality, the sheep should be preferred to the man, and the pupil to his tutor. To the 2d, He that constituteth so as he still retaineth the power to reverse his constitution, is superior to the constituted in *that* respect ; but if his donation and constitution is absolute and without condition, devolving all his power in the person constituted, and his successors, what before was voluntary becomes necessary. It is voluntary to a woman to choose such a one for her husband, and to a people what king they will at first ; both being once done, neither can the woman nor the people free themselves, from obedience and subjection to the husband and the prince, when they please. To the 3d, In a politic consideration, the king and his people are not two, but one body politic, whereof the king is the head ; and so far are they from contrariety, and opposite motions, that there is nothing good or ill for the one which is not just so for the other ; if their ends and endeavours be diverse, and never so little eccentric, either that king inclineth to tyranny, or that people to disloyalty,—if they be contrary, it is mere tyranny or mere disloyalty. To the 4th, The king's prerogative and the subjects' privilege are so far from incompatibility, that the one can never stand unless supported by the other. For the sovereign being strong, and in full possession of his lawful power and prerogative, is able to protect his subjects from oppression, and maintain their liberties entire, otherwise, not. On the other side, a people, enjoying freely their just liberties and privileges, maintaineth the prince's honour and prerogative out of the great affection they carry towards him, which is the greatest strength against foreign invasion, or intestine insurrection, that a prince can possibly be possessed with. To the 5th, It is a mere fallacy, for what is *essential* to one thing cannot be given to another. The eye may lose its sight, the ear its hearing, but can never be given to the hand, or foot, or any other member ; and as the head of the natural body may be deprived of *invention, judgment, or memory*, and the rest of the members receive no part thereof,

so subjects, not being capable of the essential parts of government properly and primitively belonging to the prince, being taken from him, they can never be imparted to them, without change of the [monarchical] government, and the *essence and being of the same*. When a king is restrained from the lawful use of his power, and subjects can make no use of it, as *under a king* they cannot, what can follow but a subversion of government,—anarchy and confusion ?

“ Now, to any man that understands these things only, the *proceedings of these times* may seem strange, and he may expostulate with us thus : ‘ Noblemen and gentlemen of good quality what do you mean ? Will you teach the people to put down the Lord’s anointed, and lay violent hands on his authority to whom both you and they owe subjection, and assistance with your goods, lives, and fortunes, by all the laws of God and man ? Do ye think to stand and domineer over the people, in an *aristocratic* way,—the people who owe you small or no obligation ? It is you, *under your natural prince*, that get all employment pregnant of honour or profit, in peace or war. You are the subjects of his liberality ; your houses decayed, either by merit or his grace and favour, are repaired, without which you fall in contempt ; the people, jealous of their liberty, when ye deserve best, to shelter themselves, will make you *shorter by the head*, or serve you with an ostracism. If their *first act be against kingly power*, their *next act will be against you* ; for if the people be of a fierce nature, they will cut your throats (as the Switzers did of old), you shall be contemptible (as some of ancient houses are in Holland, their very burgomaster is the better man) ; your honours—life—fortunes stand at the discretion of a *sedition preacher*. And you, ye meaner people of Scotland, who are not capable of a republic for many grave reasons, why are you induced by specious pretexts, to your own heavy prejudice and detriment, to be instruments of others’ ambition ? Do ye not know, when the monarchical government is shaken, the great ones strive for the garland with your blood and your fortunes ? whereby you gain nothing, but, instead of a race of kings who have governed you two thousand years with peace and justice, and have preserved your liberties against all domineering nations, shall purchase to yourselves *vultures and tigers* to reign over your posterity, and yourselves shall endure all those miseries, massacres, and proscriptions of the triumvirate of Rome,—the kingdom fall again into the hands of *one*, who of necessity must, and for reason of state will, tyrannize over you. For kingdoms acquired by blood and violence are by the same means entertained. And you great men (if any such be among you so blinded with ambition), *who aim so high as the crown*, do you think we are so far degenerate from the virtue, valour, and fidelity to our true and lawful sovereign, so constantly entertained by our ancestors, as to suffer you, with *all your policy*, to reign over us ? Take heed you be not *Æsop’s dog*, and lose the cheese for the shadow in the

well. And thou, *seditious preacher*, who studies to put the sovereignty in the people's hands for *thy own ambitious ends*, as being able, by thy wicked eloquence and *hypocrisy*, to infuse into them what thou pleasest, know this, that this people is more incapable of sovereignty than any other known: Thou art abused like a pedant by the nimble-witted noblemen,—go, go along with *them* to shake the present government,—not for *thy ends* to possess the *people* with it,—but like [as] a cunning tennis-player lets the ball go to the wall, where it *cannot stay*, that he may take it at the bound with more ease.

“And whereas a durable peace with England (which is the wish and desire of all honest men) is pretended, surely it is a great solecism in us to aim at an end of peace with them, and overthrow the only means for that end. It is the king's majesty's sovereignty over both that unites us in affection, and is only able to reconcile questions among us when they fall. To endeavour the dissolution of that bond of our union, is nowise to establish a durable peace, but rather to procure enmity and war betwixt bordering nations, where occasions of quarrel are never wanting, nor men ever ready to take hold of them.

“Now, sir, you have my opinion concerning your desire, and that which I esteem truth set down nakedly for your use, not adorned for public view. And if zeal for my sovereign and country have transported me a little too far, I hope you will excuse the errors, proceeding from so good a cause, of

“Your humble servant,

“MONTROSE.”

MONTROSE'S LETTER TO CHARLES II. AT THE HAGUE, 1649.

[Referred to at p. 460. This letter is now first printed from the original draft in the Montrose charter-chest, entitled,—“My opinion to his Majesty upon the desires of the Scots Commissioners at the Hague.”]

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,—Having received a paper whereby I was made to understand that it was your majesty's pleasure I should return my humble opinion upon it, I have made bold, in obedience to your majesty's commands, humbly to deliver my thoughts, as the shortness of the present time will suffer.

“Whereas, those who call themselves ‘Commissioners of the Church of Scotland,’ desire a satisfactory answer in reason to their first paper, according to your majesty's promise: Your majesty in my humble opinion, is not, without destroying your own authority and honour, to acknowledge any such capable either of giving or receiving satisfaction, in the interest of your majesty's service; they being directed only from pretended judicatories, unlawfully convoked and unlaw-

fully proceeding, contrary to the right of monarchy, fundamental right of that kingdom, and all your majesty's just and necessary interests. But since your majesty is of your goodness pleased,—the more to excuse yourself, and convince the world of the violence and iniquity of their proceedings,—to deign them so much patience and study as to hear and answer them upon their whole desires, I shall humbly submit unto your majesty's pleasure, and only *reflect* upon their first article, viz. Desiring your majesty would give them assurance, under your hand and seal, of your approbation of their National Covenant, subscribed (as they say) by your majesty's royal grandfather, and approved and enjoined by your royal father, of blessed memory :

“ Whereinto, though I should humbly wish your majesty might be pleased to give them satisfaction,—in regard of the times, and the small influence that it can have against your majesty's affairs elsewhere, and that you should not seem even in appearance to contradict the actions of your royal predecessors,—yet, that your majesty may not be abused, and that you may see that there is nothing but *fard* in that which may seem *fairest* of all their proceedings, I conceive myself obliged, in duty and honour, to undervalue all their malice, and truly to inform your majesty in what you are and may be so much concerned.

“ It is true that National Covenant did pass under colour of the king your grandfather's authority ; but it never can be shown that he did himself subscribe it, or that any act of council ever passed authorizing the same. The king being at that time in his nonage, some of the factious leading ministers pretending that there were many of quality popishly affected, both about court and in the country, desired an oath to be pressed, wherein is no bond or league of *mutual defence*, but a bare negative confession, only to have been a touchstone whereby all such as were popish might be *decyphered* ; as witnesseth the thing itself, which only disclaimed the exorbitancies and abuses of the Roman hierarchy, without condemning the primitive times, or ancient discipline, from the beginning, in all Christian churches,—intending it only for that present exigency, as they conceived it, but never dreamt of making it pass as any thing *national*, or to be a snare or stumbling-block to all posterity. And as for the king, your majesty's royal father, his assent thereto, who knew so well the grounds and *precognitas* of all the design,—how it was (I shall not say further) procured from him, all the world knows. Yet when the Earl of Traquair did sign it, in his majesty's name, as commissioner in that present parliament, he declared (as is still upon record) that, in case of ignorance, inadvertence, or any thing against law, or prejudicial to his majesty's right or royal authority, all to be null and of no effect. But what sad effects these religious *pretences* have produced since, and how dangerous a principle it is to all authority and government, I shall humbly leave it to your majesty to consider. Yet that (upon

what is before mentioned, and that it reaches no further than the kingdom of Scotland, and because that many are harmlessly inveigled in it who otherwise mean rightly enough for your majesty's service) your majesty should be pleased to seem to dispense with it, would not appear amiss for the times.

"As for that of their *Solemn League* (which they always strive to twist alongst with the other), it is so full of injustice, violence, and rebellion, that, in my humble opinion, it were your majesty's *shame and ruin* ever to give ear to it; being nothing else but a condemning of your royal father's memory, joining all your dominions in rebellion, by your own consent, against you, and in effect a very formal putting hand against yourself. And when they demand your majesty's consent to *all acts* for establishing their leagues in all your other kingdoms, it is the same thing as if they should desire to undo you by your own leave and favour.

"They would also force your majesty to quit the form of service and worship in your *own family*. And yet they made it a ground of rebellion against your royal father, that they but *imagined* he intended to meddle with them in the like kind.

"And whereas they say, that, by granting all their extravagant desires, your majesty would not only gain the hearts of Scotland itself, but all others of your other dominions,—It is most evident, and known to all the world, that your majesty would lose irrecoverably the hearts and services of all your party within the three kingdoms, besides what would touch your conscience, honour, and memory, before God, the world, and all posterity. For have they not still *totally declined* the royal party in all your kingdoms? Juggled with all other sectaries? And is it not their downright tenet, that they must rather receive all than *malignants*? As witness their late *calling in of Cromwell*, and all of that nature. Withal they still insist upon their desires, without ever showing the least reason for them; or what they will do to evidence their thankfulness and loyalty, or what assurances they will give upon it.

"Whereas they promise to continue the same faithfulness unto your majesty as *they have done to your royal father*, it appears they do not at all dissemble in this point. Their selling of him to his enemies, their instructions to their commissioners, and all their public and private carriages with his murderers, doth sufficiently declare it; as particularly the eighth article of the said instructions, wherein it is said that a king, or civil magistrate,* is punishable by the laws as the meanest of the subjects.

"As for their pretence in proclaiming your majesty king, it is the

* The term "civil magistrate" is here used not in the ordinary sense, but in the sense of some representative of supreme or sovereign power; which, it was Montrose's doctrine, was not punishable by the subject, so long as sovereign power was considered essential to good government.

greatest argument can be given of their disloyalty. For while your majesty is the undoubted heir of that kingdom,—by the uninterrupted succession of so many, your royal progenitors,—in place of declaring your right, they question it, or rather would make it null, by turning your hereditary right to a conditional of *ands* and *ifs*, which may seem to suit with any person else as well as your majesty.

“As for what they so often reiterate to your majesty, of your *hand and seal*, for promoting of their Solemn League and Covenant throughout your dominions,—they make use of this still like Achilles’ lance, to wound your majesty and heal themselves withal.

“And further, they desire that your majesty would consent and agree that all matters civil should be determined by the parliament, and all matters ecclesiastical by the assembly; by which your majesty does clearly see they resolve that *you* should signify nothing; and yet they are not ashamed to say that those desires are so just and necessary for securing the religion and peace of that kingdom—that they cannot subsist without them; even as if your majesty’s government, or the name of a king, were contrary to peace and religion. And yet they say that they will contribute their utmost endeavours for your majesty’s re-establishment; but still it is with those promises of ‘lawful means,’ and ‘according to the League and Covenant,’ so as all that is but to grant the antecedent, and always deny the conclusion.

“And whereas your majesty is pleased to press them,—if they have any propositions to make to your majesty, towards your recovery of your right of England, and bringing the murderers of your royal father to justice? They say they have *sufficiently answered it*; although they have never named the same,—still wearing to make a stand,—having nothing to say, they are forced to play the sceptics in place of better argument.

“And besides all this, they have been the fountain and origin of all the rebellions, both among themselves and all others your majesty’s dominions. And after they had received all full satisfaction in order to their whole desires, both touching church and state, within their own nation, they entered England with a strong army, and there joined themselves to the rebel party in that kingdom, persecuted the king your royal father, till in a kind they reduced him to deliver himself up into their hands; *and then*, contrary to all duty, gratitude, faith, and hospitality, *they sold him* over into the hands of his merciless enemies,—comploted his death,—connived at his murder,—and have been the only rigid and restless instruments of all his saddest fates. Of all which past horrid misdemeanours they are so little ashamed, that they make it their only business now to preserve their conquest by the same means by which they at first acquired it; murdering those of your best subjects, while they pretend to treat with your majesty’s self; and persecuting all those by arms who they think to be affected

for you ; and being in league and all strictest correspondence with the murderers of your royal father ; and making all vigorous and hostile preparations against what they fear may be so justly attempted by your majesty against them,—heaping lies and calumnies upon your majesty's person, party, and cause, to make you still the more hateful to themselves, distrusted by your own, and condemned by strangers, the more to disenable your majesty against them, and fortify themselves the further for your ruin.

“ Against all which, in my humble opinion, I know no other remedy (since the disease is so far gone that Lent physics cannot at all operate) than that contraries should be quickly applied, and that your majesty should be pleased resolutely to trust the justice of your cause to God and better fortunes, and use all vigorous and active ways, as the probable human means that is left to redeem you. *In the way of which* I shall, I hope, be much more able than in this to witness unto you, with how much zeal and faithfulness I am your most sacred majesty's most humble, faithful, and obedient servant.” [MONTROSE.]

PROSECUTION OF MONTROSE IN 1641.

The copy of the libel served upon the marquis (referred to at p. 212) is still preserved in the Montrose charter-chest ; but, as it would occupy many pages, it is much too long for insertion here. It is a tissue of violent invective and calumny, strongly impressed with the peculiar genius of that nefarious agitator, Archibald Johnston, and curiously characteristic of the tyrannical iniquity of the covenanting government. Probably this libel, and Montrose's answers, which have also been preserved, along with other original documents illustrative of the times, for which I have not been able to find room, will yet see the light, in a quarto volume of *Montrosiana*, printed for some one of the literary clubs. The answers to the libel are written in his usual style of fearless and eloquent indignation against the factious dishonesty to which he was opposed. One instructive document in the charter-chest, connected with this process, which was entirely founded upon the extorted depositions of Walter Stewart, must be given here :—
“ *Interrogatories for the Earl of Montrose, the Lord Napier, the Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to be inquired at Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart.*

“ Interrogatories, wherewith it may please your lordships to interrogate Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, *being confronted with us*, which is our humble desire.

“ 1. To interrogate him whether or not he was boasted, threatened, and menaced, to depone ?

“ 2. Item, if there was not much favour, and courtesy, and freedom

promised him, the time of his deponing ; affirming neither his life nor fortune should be in hazard ?

“ 3. Item, whether or not, after deponing, being commanded to swear and subscribe the same, he craved twenty-four hours to advise-ment before oath, and was refused, but only to hear them read ?

“ 4. Item, whether or not Sir Adam Hepburn, then clerk, having read the deposition, the said Walter desired the same should be changed and altered in some points, and that the clerk refused the same, without the committee’s advice ?

“ 5. Item, whether or not he was commanded by the committee to subscribe and swear them as they were, without giving way to change them at all ?

“ 6. Item, that he be urged to declare *where he wrote those several papers which falsely are called ours* ; as that paper called *the Tablet*, and the other, wherein are his hieroglyphics of *Elephant* and *Dromedary*, and the like ; and whether we know any thing of the writing, or were accessory thereto ?

“ 7. That he declare, if ever we, in our discourses to him, did so much as *smell*—besides seem to intend—any thing whatsoever touching ourselves, for employment, advancement, commodity, or any such like advantages, but only the king’s presence here for the public good, by a happy peace, by settling the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom ?”

This was one of the various petitions of “the plotters” to which the covenanting statesmen paid no attention.—Since the illustrations of the plot given in the text were printed, I have been so fortunate as to discover, among the original letters in the charter-chest, already so often mentioned, the identical one from Charles I. to the marquis which Walter Stewart had concealed in his saddle. The government had seized it at the time, and raised various calumnies respecting its object, without publishing it ; but it seems that Montrose had afterwards obtained it, or that it had been restored to his family :—

“ MONTROSE,—I conceive that nothing can conduce more to a firm and solid peace, and giving full contentment and satisfaction to my people, than that I should be present at the next ensuing session of parliament. This being *the reason of my journey*, and having *a perfect intention to satisfy my people in their religion and just liberties*, I do expect from them that retribution of thankfulness, as becomes grateful and devout subjects : Which being a business, wherein not only *my service*, but likewise the good of the whole kingdom is so much concerned, I cannot but expect that your particular endeavours will be herein concurring. In confidence of which, I rest your assured friend,

“ CHARLES R.

“ *Whitehall, the 22d of May 1641.*”

[Addressed] “ For Montrose,”

There can be no doubt that this letter, which bears the marks of very rough usage, is the same as that referred to at pp. 170, 180, of this volume.

In his answers to the charge, Montrose himself affords this new fact: "And that all men may be convinced to think that libel nothing but a rhapsody of forethought villany, it was boldly promised, ere any of these particulars did fall out or occur, which they make now the pretence of this imprisonment, *that my sword should be taken from my side before two months passed.* So what has been the intention, strain, and carriage of all these false and forged calumnies may easily appear." One of the puerile accusations against him was, that he had failed in his duty as a colonel in the army of 1640, by not having his regiments in readiness to cross the Borders on that expedition. (See p. 136.) To which he answers: "And as for that other gross lie, touching slowness in bringing alongst my regiments, it is yet more palpable than all the rest, I being as soon as many, and before a great part;" "but, besides all this, those regiments were a month or five weeks upon the fields before Tweed was crossed by the army, *and I was of all myself the first that put my foot in the water, and led over one regiment in the view of all the army.*"

At the end of the draft of his defence, which is in a different penmanship, the following verse, probably his composition, is written in his own hand, as will be seen from the fac-simile:—

Hoc pretium vitæ, vigilatorumque laborum
Cepimus, ingenio est poena reperta meo.

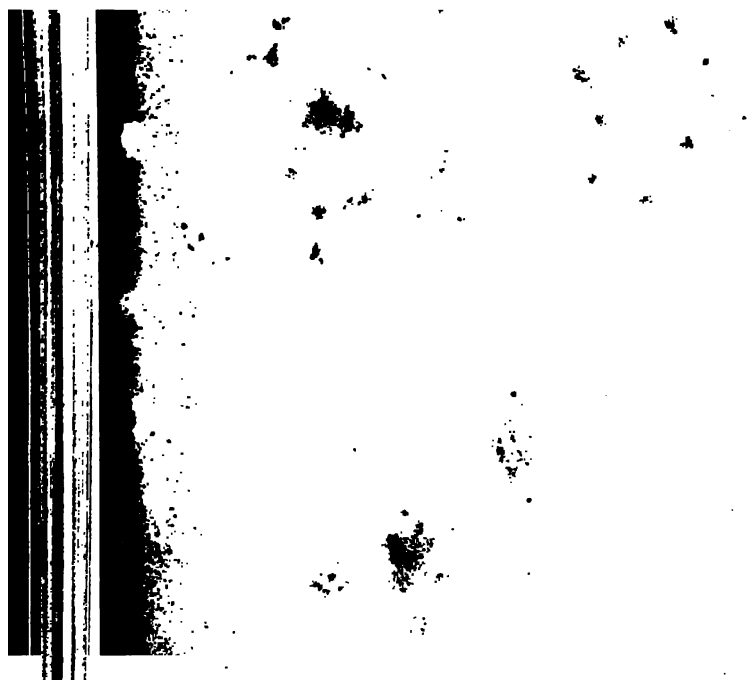
Which may be paraphrased,—“Thus am I rewarded for so often hazarding my life, and for the many painful toils I have undergone: this ignominious punishment is the return for exerting my best abilities in the cause.”

CHARACTERISTICS OF SCOTISH STATESMEN, FROM LORD NAPIER'S MSS.

[Referred to at p. 18.]

A favourite theme among democratic writers is the alleged duplicity of Charles I. in his diplomacy with his rebellious subjects. But his policy,—if that indeed can be called his policy which was forced upon him by dishonest counsels, and violent emergencies,—stands in the same relation to the duplicity of his revolutionary opponents that the treachery and cruelty of which the Covenanters accuse Montrose, bear to the treachery and cruelty of the accusing party. From the commencement of his reign Charles was a prey to the faithlessness of the times, and to a want of principle and common honesty in the leading statesmen who controlled the destinies of Scotland, to a degree that is now hardly conceivable. It was not a mere rhetorical flourish that Montrose

Hoc proctum sevitte, perigilatorum, laborum
capimus, Ingeas sit pona, reperta meo



used, but a direct and well understood reference to this characteristic of the times and of the covenanting revolution, when he told the Scottish Parliament, "My resolution is to carry along with me fidelity and honour to the grave." In the manuscripts of his tutor and friend, Lord Napier, are many references to the unscrupulous conduct of the public men of his day as well as some notable instances of it. Writing about the period of his majesty's progress to Scotland in 1633, he describes the times as such, that "for bribery at all hands, concussion of the people, and abusing of the king, no age can parallel;" and he declares, that while honest men were kept away from his majesty by the cabals of interested and unprincipled statesmen, these last were "so bold in consideration of the strength of their leagues, that they did not stick to *falsify the king's hand*, surreptitiously to *steal his majesty's superscriptions*, to frame letters *contrary to his meaning*, and many other things of this kind." Napier had been a Privy-councillor since 1615, and was also Treasurer-depute for Scotland; in 1623 he was Justice-clerk, and an ordinary Lord of Session; in 1626 an extraordinary Lord of Session. As he was constantly opposed to the system of factions and dishonest intrigues by which men then climbed into power, a detestable cabal was formed against him at court, and in particular an attempt was made to deprive him of his place of Treasurer-depute. "There was nothing," he says, "I more desired in my secretest thoughts than to be fairly rid of that place, long before my trouble; for after my wife died,—a woman religious, chaste, and beautiful, and my chief joy in this world,*—I had no pleasure to remain in Scotland, having had experience of the chief of the Lords of Council and Session, and of their manners, to which I could never fashion myself; and considering the place I held could never be profitable to a man that had resolved fair and honourable dealing." Of the honesty of Napier himself, and of the truth of his private record there can be no doubt. Even Scotstarvet, in his severe chronicle of the statesmen of the day, has acknowledged that his character was free from all imputation. His statement of facts may therefore be relied upon, and the following story which occurs in the MSS. now quoted, affords an extraordinary illustration of the subject of this note:—

"About this time [1630] the treasurer Morton came from court, and finding that I was not to be dealt with, the chancellor [Kinnoull], Menteith, and he, to make me loathe the service (which in my secretest thoughts I did long ago), undertook a business no way honourable for them, and which hereafter might prove dangerous if any of them should happen to fall from the king's favour. There was, after the death of King James, a commission of Exchequer sent down by his majesty now reigning, under his hand (for by the death of his father all former commissions expired) and left undated, to those who were

* Lady Margaret Graham, Montrose's elder sister.

of the former; the manner of which commission is this: The king signs a commission in paper, which thereafter is engrossed in parchment, translated in Latin, and the king's great seal appended to it, and the paper under the king's hand is kept for a warrant to the great seal. This commission in paper under the king's hand being sent down, and being defective, or at least the King's Advocate would have it to seem so, because it was not drawn up by him, was not passed the seals, but kept by him, the chancellor, or secretary, and another sent up of the advocate's penning, which being sent down again signed by the king, was passed the seals, which was the warrant of all the Exchequer's proceedings six years after. The old unpassed signature of commission they took, and where these words 'Treasurer or Treasurer-depute' occurred (as they did very often through the body of the signature), they made Mr William Chamber, in a chamber of Holyrood-house, put a mark betwixt Treasurer and Treasurer-depute, before 'or,' and in the margin wrote these words 'in his absence,' so that it was to be read 'Treasurer, or, in his absence, Treasurer-depute,' and the words in the margin about five or six several times subscribed by Morton and Menteith. Besides, they inserted the date, 'Whitehall, 28th June 1630,' with new black ink, where all the rest was worn whitish, and it was torn in the foldings, which ocular inspection bewrayed the antiquity and falsehood of the same. So by this commission I was to do nothing (directly contrary to my patent, and the purpose of the institution of that office), the treasurer being present. About twelve o'clock I got intelligence that there was a new commission brought down by the treasurer Morton, and was at the seals. I presently went to the director of the chancery's chamber,* who showed it to me, and said he marvelled much how the chancellor durst append the great seal upon such a warrant. I viewed it as well as I could in so short a space. At two o'clock thereafter the Exchequer convened, where, before the chancellor, lay this signature of commission, and the double in parchment in Latin, with the great seal thereat, together with two letters of the king's. We being all set, the chancellor gave the signature in paper to the clerk to be read, and the double in Latin with the seal, in parchment, to the king's advocate to be collationed. The clerk had much ado to read it, it was so worn, being now made use of *six years* after it was signed by the king. But I, seeing two of the king's letters unbroken up, took no exceptions at the signature (suspecting that they did contain something to supply the defects and informality of the signature), till the letters were read, which contained nothing of that purpose. Then I rose up and said,—

NAPIER. "My lords, this is a strange signature, and such as I

* Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, whose curious though malicious manuscript, entitled "The Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen," is preserved in the Advocates' Library.

never saw—(and was going on, my Lord Morton interrupted me, and rose from his place in a great anger, saying),

MORTON. "The first day that I have the honour to sit here, and carry this white staff, I must hear my honour called in question impertinently.

NAPIER. "My lord, I do not call your honour in question pertinently nor impertinently, neither is it my custom towards any, although some men have done so to me.

CHANCELLOR. "By God, but you have.

("When I spoke before the lords in Sergeant Walthew's business my words were, that that business was reported to the king by men ill affected to me, *except one honest man, Sir James Fullarton*; the chancellor would conclude, against himself and the secretary, that I said *they were not honest*, by consequence which gave him occasion to answer me so bruskiy at this time.)

NAPIER. "But, my lord, give me leave to answer my Lord Morton first, and then you when you please. My lord (turning towards Morton), your lordship is very hot with me, but be assured there is nothing done amiss which concerns either the king's service, or me in my particular, that I will stand in awe of any man to question.

MORTON. "This was done by the king's direction, and we will answer it.

MENTEITH. "My Lord Napier, you are so passionate in your own particular, that you will not forbear to question what the king commanded! For his majesty stood by while it was done, and we will answer it.

NAPIER. "If it had been the king's direction, why would you not bestow upon him a clean sheet of paper, and engrossed these marginal notes of yours in the body of the signature, rather than made use of this old torn thing? Then needed not the signature, with the king's hand at it, receive validity from yours upon the margin.

"But he that never was ashamed to do or say any thing, still affirmed that his majesty stood by till he saw them subscribe, and that it was his direction!

NAPIER. "My lord, I marvel that you are not ashamed to say so. Let the lords look the date with a blacker ink than the rest, 'at Whitehall, the 28th of June 1630;'—*then you were there*, you say, with the king? Your lordship has ridden fast, for you were here and presided in council the 29th of June 1630, to verify which, I desire that the Clerk of Council's book of sederunt may be produced, and, my Lord Morton, *your lordship set out of London before him*.

"Menteith being convinced of a manifest untruth in presence of all the lords, was so confounded and surprised with it, that he made this answer, nothing to the purpose,—

MENTEITH. "My lord, I brought not the signature home.

"All this while the lords were silent, hung down their heads, and

were ashamed on their behalf, and even the chancellor himself at mute. When the signatures came to be compounded, my Lord Morton used me kindly and familiarly, asked my opinion concerning the composition and nature of the signatures, so that it was by all clearly perceived that he repented himself, and was ashamed of the business, wherunto, by all appearance, he was induced by the other two, for in his own nature he is noble and generous. I asked the lords if I should subscribe the signatures (of purpose to set before their eyes the inconvenience of this stained commission), 'for the lord-treasurer is present, and, by this fine commission, I am only to serve in *his absence*.' Then said the chancellor, 'you ought to subscribe with the rest.' At this time there was a warrant presented of 5000 pounds sterling to my Lord Morton. 'Then (said I), my lords, what shall be done with this. My Lord Morton cannot set his hand to his own business, and I cannot, because *he is present*, and without one of our hands it is not receivable in chequer?' To which I had no answer. 'But (said I), if my hand can serve the Earl of Morton, he shall have it with all my heart, for no man will grudge at any thing the king bestows on him.' Perceiving then that this device was not like to take effect, they began themselves to find fault with the commission, as defective. These passages being related to the king (for kings have long ears), he disliked these proceedings, as I am informed, extremely. Yet such was the hopes of the great service this combination was to do (which to this hour did nothing but to his heavy prejudice, and their own profit), that he was content to take no notice of it.

"I resolved then to go to court, and, some days before I went, Menteith sent up his man, Mr Henry Drummond, with a letter, drawn up by himself and the secretary, and sent up to the secretary's son, who waited there in absence of his father, who was in Scotland, the contents whereof were to stay me by the way, or to command me to return again into Scotland. This letter was to be signed by the king, and Mr Henry was to meet me upon the way, and to deliver it to me. I rode on my own horses to Berwick, and purposed to send them back, and take post there, where the post-master told me (having asked who rode last) that Mr Henry was gone up post, and told him he was to ride night and day, and was very shortly to come back. Upon which I conjectured that he was sent up to procure my stay or return (as indeed he was) upon some misinformation. Therefore, to prevent their purpose, I changed mine, and upon my own horses rode on the western way, where no post lyeth.

"The secretary's son having presented this letter for my stay, for the king's hand, *his majesty threw it away, saying this man hath suffered enough already*; and in place thereof, made him write another to me, most gracious and favourable, which he signed. This letter was given to Mr Hary Drummond to be given to me, but *he*

gave it to his master (who then was on his journey), with the copy thereof sent down by the secretary's son, which *by no means I could ever come to the sight of*, although I got knowledge of the tenor afterwards. How soon I came to court I had speech with his majesty concerning these businesses, who said, that he could not but acknowledge my good service, my honesty, and integrity, but that he was informed that the principal officers and I could not agree, whereby his service was hindered. Then desired I his majesty to try whose fault it was,—theirs, who went about matters prejudicial to him and the country, or mine, who opposed them out of duty to God and to him. But not daring to insist further in this point, fearing lest the king should have resolved to continue me in that service, which was contrary to my desire, took the opportunity,—‘Then, sir, since they have made your majesty think that I hinder your service, I will not be refractory to your majesty's desires; but your majesty is a just king, and cannot take that place from me but by consent, or for a crime; and as for a crime, if your majesty be not satisfied with what is past, I will refuse no further trial, how exact soever, being just, and *your majesty judge*.’ Then the king, having used many favourable words acknowledging my faithful service, willed me to speak with Menteith, who, he said, was my kinsman. ‘Truly, sir (said I), he is my kinsman, but was never my friend, and certainly, he and I shall never agree.’ ‘Then,’ replied the king, smiling, ‘he will take it for a disgrace if he be not the doer of it.’ ‘Then (said I) I shall talk with him.’”

The result was, that Traquair was at first associated with Napier as joint treasurer-depute, “without fee or pension, of which he was glad, or seemed so, and took a kiss of the king's hand upon it. Menteith and the secretary [Stirling] did exceedingly please themselves with this device, and did every where proclaim it, arrogating so much to their own judgment and dexterity as was hateful to every wise man. And indeed they were in nature not unlike in this, that no living man was ever more vainglorious than they both, but different in the expressing of that humour. For the secretary was a gross and downright flatterer of himself, and drew all discourses from their proper subject to *his own praise*. Menteith did the same, but, *as he thought*, more subtly, but indeed so ridiculously as gave matter of mirth to all those to whom it was related.” This kinsman, whom Napier brought to such shame, was a very conspicuous person. Before 1628 he was invested with the offices of Justice-general of Scotland, President of the Privy-council, and an extraordinary Lord of Session. He was William Graham, seventh Earl of Menteith, and lineally descended from Robert II., to whose eldest son by Euphemia Ross, David earl of Strathern, he was served heir, which service was ratified by the royal patent, 31st July 1631, authorizing him to assume the title of Earl of Strathern and Menteith. At this time it was supposed

that Euphemia Ross was the *first* wife of Robert II. (and not Elizabeth More, subsequently ascertained to have been so), and the pretension to the crown of Scotland, involved in this service, was suggested to Charles, especially by Drummond of Hawthornden, as *dangerous* to his crown. Scotstarvet says, that when Menteith renounced his claim to the crown he did so under reservation of his right of descent, and boasted that he had *the reddest blood in Scotland*. Accordingly his titles were all set aside in 1633, and being deprived of his offices he was confined for a time to his own isle of Menteith. But when divested of his other titles, the Earldom of Airth was conferred upon him. It was his eldest son, Lord Kilpont, who was so basely murdered in Montrose's camp, immediately after the battle of Tippermuir, by Stewart of Ardvourlich.

In the year 1641, and under very different circumstances, Napier was once more in presence of the unhappy sovereign whom he had so faithfully served, and whom he so admired and loved. It is mentioned above, p. 204, that upon the 14th August in that year, immediately before the arrival of Charles in Scotland, Montrose was called before the Parliament, when his trial was postponed. It is remarkable that his persecutors did not allow him an opportunity of defending himself to his sovereign, or to tell his own story in presence of Charles. But Napier, Keir, and Blackhall were called before them upon the 28th of August, and it would appear that the first of these had, in his usual precise and accurate manner, made a note of what passed upon that occasion, and had found an opportunity of giving it to Montrose. The following is from the original paper, apparently in Napier's handwriting, preserved in the Montrose charter-chest :—

“ Upon the 28th August 1641, Lord Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, were sent for to the parliament (being the day we were to answer) in three coaches, *appointed by his majesty himself*. How soon we came in at the outmost door, his majesty took off his hat, and we approached. The president bade us go up into the stage appointed for delinquents. After we had made our humble courtesy to the king, the president caused the clerk call the advocates for the state by name, and then us; and, thereafter, he told us that the parliament, in regard of the weighty business in hand, would prorogue our day of hearing to the 8th of September next. To which I answered, that what his majesty and the house did determine we must and would be contented with; but that they would be pleased, since the prime advocates were taken up, to allow those who were to consult with us to plead for us also; and that we might have delivered to us an extract of the grounds of our process; and that we might meet together, to consult about our lawful defences, that we might be readier to answer. The president told us we might *supplicate* for these things, and no answer could be given now. Then I desired to have liberty to speak, which the pre-

sident refused, saying, that what I could say was *in causa*.* I said, that which I had to say was very short, and would not trouble them; and then I desired that his majesty and the house would be pleased to hear me. The king, as I believe,—for at such a distance I could not hear,—bade *voice it*; but it was granted, and not voiced.† Then said I: ‘What we have done, and while we were a-doing of it, we thought we could not devise to do the king’s majesty, nor the estates and subjects of this kingdom better service; and, *God be thanked, I see his majesty there*; and I am confident we shall find the gracious effects of his presence. And, truly, if we have failed, either in matter or manner, *may be*,—but I never yet could conceive it; and yet we have received punishment that bears proportion with very great crimes. We have been eleven weeks in the castle, which we do not think much of; but by that means there lies a heavy imputation upon us, and suspicion of the people, as if we had committed some heinous crime; and thereby we are *barred from sitting here, as we ought*; and are forced to hear libels and summonses, with the most opprobrious and reproachful words which ever were used to innocent or *guilty* men. So, my humble desire to his majesty and the house is, that they will be pleased to take our cause and sufferings into their consideration.’ *His majesty nodded to me, and seemed to be well pleased. So we took leave.*”

This was Charles’s last recognition of his ancient and faithful councillor.

PARLIAMENTARY SANCTION OF THE MURDER OF LORD KILPONT.

[From the original Parliamentary Record. Referred to at p. 274.]

“1. March, 1645. Ratification of James Stewart’s pardon for killing of the Lord Kilpont.

“Forsameikle as umquhile John Lord Kilpont, being employed in public service in the month of August last, against James Graham, then Earl of Montrose, the Irish rebels and their associates, did not only treasonably join himself, but also treasonably trained a great number of his majesty’s subjects, about four hundred persons or thereby, who came with him for defence of the country, to join also with the said rebels, of the which number were James Stewart of Ardvorlich, Robert Stewart his son, Duncan M’Robert Stewart in Balquhiddier, Andrew Stewart there, Walter Stewart in Glenfinglass, and John Growder in

* Perhaps they were afraid of his narrating the scene before the committee. See p. 192.

† *i. e.* Granted without being put to the vote; the king having shamed them into hearing this aged nobleman, who was one of the privy-council.

Glassinserd, friends to the said James, who *heartily thereafter repenting of his error* in joining with the said rebels, and abhorring their cruelty, *resolves with his said friends* to forsake their wicked company, and *imparted this resolution* to the said umquhile Lord Kilpont. But he, out of his malignant dispositions, opposed the same, and fell in struggling with the said James, who *for his own relief* was forced to kill him at the *Kirk of Collace*, with two Irish rebels who resisted his escape, and so removed happily *with his said son and friends*, and came *straight to the Marquis of Argyle*, and offered their service to their country: Whose carriage in this particular being considered by the Committee of Estates, they by their act of the tenth of December last, find and declare that the said James Stewart *did good service to the kingdom* in killing the said Lord Kilpont, and two Irish rebels foresaid, being in actual rebellion against the country, and *approved of what he did therein*: And in regard thereof, and of the said James his son and friends retiring from the said rebels and joining with the country, did fully and freely pardon them for their said joining with the rebels and their associates, or for being any ways accessory actors, art and part of and to any of the crimes, misdeeds, or malversations done by themselves or by the rebels and their associates, or any of them, during the time they were with the said rebels; and declares them free, in their persons, estates, and goods, of any thing can be laid to their charge therefor or for killing the Lord Kilpont and two Irish rebels foresaid, in time coming."

The act of Committee proceeds to prohibit all judicatories and judges whomsoever, from any attempt to bring the parties to justice, or entertain the case against them in any shape, and the parliament taking all this into their special consideration, "and acknowledging the equity thereof," confirms and ratifies the same in favour of James Stewart, his son, and his other friends named.

This melancholy and disreputable process proves, to a certain extent, the nature of Ardvairlich's crime. The murderer tells the story, for himself and his accomplices, to his patron and protector Argyle, and that story, as might be expected, is given in the act of the Committee according to the version most favourable for those whom it was meant to screen.

CRUELITIES OF THE COVENANTERS.

[Extracts from Patrick Gordon's MS. See p. 455 of this volume.]

In reference to the cold-blooded cruelties, instigated chiefly by the Presbyterian ministers, which were perpetrated against Montrose's followers after the battle of Philiphaugh, the historian Malcolm Laing, impugning the veracity of Dr Wishart, exclaims,—“Salmonet and Guthrie were ashamed to transcribe the last story from Wishart, of

the prisoners thrown alive into *the Tweed*. The fact is, that from Berwick to Peebles, there was not a single bridge on the Tweed, and Father Hay is *obliged to transfer* the same to Linlithgow bridge, above forty miles from the field of battle." But *the fact is*, Wishart merely says, "thrown over a high bridge, and the men, together with their wives and sucking children, drowned *in the river beneath*,"—the *Tweed* is not mentioned. And that Wishart had given no exaggerated account of these cruelties, will be seen from the following extract (not hitherto printed) from Patrick Gordon's manuscript, which also accounts for Father Hay's mention of *Linkithgow* as one of the scenes of these massacres :—

"Thus letting the horsemen go [at Philiphaugh], they fell upon three hundred of the Irish, who had stood together, whereof having killed two hundred and fifty, the rest render their arms, upon promise of *safe quarters* ; but it was not kept ; their two excellent commanders, Lachlan and Okyan were then taken, and being carried to Edinburgh, were soon after executed ; the fifty that remained were murdered by the way at Linlithgow. With the whole baggage and stuff, which was exceeding rich, there remained none but boys, cooks, and a rabble of rascals, and women with their children in their arms ; all those without commiseration were cut in pieces ; whereof there were three hundred women that, being natives of Ireland, were the married wives of the Irish ; there were many big with child, yet none of them were spared, but all were cut in pieces with such savage and inhuman cruelty, as neither Turk nor Scythian was ever heard to have done the like ; for they ript up the bellies of the women with their swords, till the fruit of their womb, some in the embryo, some perfectly formed, some crawling for life, and some ready for birth, fall down upon the ground, weltering in the gory blood of their mangled mothers ! O impiety ! O horrible cruelty ! which Heaven doubtless will revenge, before this bloody, unjust, and unlawful war be brought to an end."

These last expressions show that this account had been written not long after the event. In the hottest of Montrose's fights, in which alone his alleged *cruelties* occurred, nothing like this was ever perpetrated.

The two following anecdotes are also new, and derived from the same MS. While Montrose was lurking in disguise with Inchbrakie, before he heard of the arrival of Macdonald and the Irish,—“as he was one day in Methven wood, staying for the night, because there was no safe travelling by day, he became transported with sadness, grief, and pity, to see his native country thus brought into miserable bondage and slavery, through the turbulent and blind zeal of some preachers, and now persecuted for the unlawful and ambitious ends of some of the nobility,—therefore, in a deep grief and unwonted ravishment, he besought the divine Majesty, with watery eyes, and a

sorrowful heart, that his justly-kindled indignation might be appeased, his mercy extended, the curse removed, and that it might please him to make him a humble instrument therein ;—while he was in this thought, lifting up his eyes, he beholds a man coming the way to St Johnstoun's [Perth] with a *fiery cross* in his hand," &c. This was the cross with which Macdonald was endeavouring to raise the clans, and it was the first intimation to Montrose of his having landed.

In recounting the battle of Inverlochy, the manuscript mentions : " That day they fought, the general [Montrose] himself, and the Earl of Airly who had staid with him since the battle of St Johnstoun's,—these two noblemen, I say, had no more to break their fast before they went to battle but a little meal mixed with cold water, which, out of a hollow of a dish, they did pick up with their knives ; and this was those noblemen's best fare. One may judge what wants the rest of the army must suffer ; the most part of them had not tasted a bit of bread these two days ; marching over high mountains in knee-deep snow, and wading brooks and rivers up to their girdles."

A CALUMNY OF BURNET'S REFUTED.

Burnet, in his *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 89, Oxford edition, has this passage (referred to at p. 435), which was suppressed in the former edition of his works :—

" The Queen-mother [Henrietta Maria] *hated Montrose mortally* ; for, when he came over from Scotland to Paris upon the king's requiring him to lay down his arms, she received him with such extraordinary favour as his services seemed to deserve, and gave him a large supply in money and jewels, considering the straits to which she was then reduced. But *she heard* that he had talked very indecently of her favours to him, which she herself told the Lady Susanna Hamilton, a daughter of Duke Hamilton, from whom I had it. So she sent him word to leave Paris, and she would see him no more. He *wandered* about the courts of Germany, but was not esteemed so much as he thought he deserved."

This absurd calumny, repeated by the bishop from the gossip of a female, an enemy to the fame of Montrose, is perhaps not worthy of refutation. A few considerations and facts will, however, suffice to show its falsity : 1. The anecdote is totally at variance with what we have proved of the loftiness of the marquis's character. Burnet himself says that he was " *stately to affectation* ;" and, with reference to all his principles and dispositions, and the state of his mind at this period, occupied with the most intense feelings of devoted loyalty to Charles I., it may be pronounced *impossible* that he could have " *talked very indecently of the queen's favours to him*," or so as to induce her to bid him quit Paris. 2. *De Retz*, in the capital at this time, was the

personal friend of Montrose, and also the benefactor of the unhappy queen; he was, moreover, well versed in the court tattle of the day, and delighted to record it. Had the Scottish nobleman been thus expelled for ungentlemanlike conduct, all Paris would have rung with the cause of his departure. Now, De Retz mentions that he suddenly quitted Paris, and gave up the service of France, *because his own sovereign required his services*, and that he had gone to Mazarine and excused himself by showing him some letters from Charles I. If there had been a breath of this scandal at the time, De Retz would have caught it, and recorded something about it, however uncertain or puerile; but he makes no allusion to any such rumour. 3. The letter of Montrose's nephew to his lady (see p. 433-438), giving an unreserved account of all that regarded the movements of his uncle at this time, agrees with the statement made by De Retz, and hints at nothing of the kind reported by Burnet. 4. There are yet preserved in the Montrose charter-chest several original letters from Henrietta Maria, both before and after the date of the spurious anecdote. All these letters are full of exalted admiration of the character and conduct of the marquis; nor in any one of them is there the slightest allusion to any misconduct. In particular, in a communication, dated St Germain, 22d July 1649, her majesty says (in French): "COUSIN,—I have received two letters from you at the same time, one by my Lord Endover, of an old date, the other by Ayton, and in both of them I discover your continued affection for me, which I receive with great satisfaction, *having that esteem for you which can never diminish*, but which I shall cherish in whatever fortune may befall me; and must claim from you a reciprocal esteem for myself, since I am, and entreat you to believe it, and shall always faithfully be, my cousin, your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

"HENRIETTA MARIA, R."

Now, Burnet's anecdote bears, that *in the preceding year*, he had been ordered to quit Paris by her majesty, because "she heard that he had talked very indecently of her favours to him;" and he adds, that "she hated Montrose mortally!" He is equally false, when he says that he *wandered* about the courts of Germany, and met with neglect. No sooner did he reach that country, than the emperor bestowed upon him, in the most complimentary manner, a field-marshal's commission. Bad as this gossip is, it has been perverted even to a worse sense in a recent work, entitled, *Memoirs of the Court of England, &c.*, by John Heneage Jesse (vol. ii. p. 225). "Montrose, says Burnet, afterwards repaid her kindness by boasting of *other* favours which she had conferred upon him." This is a gross perversion of a worthless anecdote. The historian, in the passage in question, does not, expressly at least, speak of any *other* favours than that of bestowing money and jewels.

MONTROSE'S KEY, 1648.

[From the original in the Montrose charter-chest, referred to at p. 442.]

“Kinge, *Argeers*, His Party, *torrens*.
 Queene, ~~Paris~~ *Go Venize*.
 Prince, *Hogen mogen* or *Mr Hope*, *His Counsell,—Hopeless*.
 Duke, ~~Holland~~, *the Skipper*.
 Rupert, ~~Germany~~ *Hidd*, *Campheer*.
 Montross, *Venture faire*.
 Hamilton, ~~Grays~~ *a perill*, *Captaine Lucklesse*.
 Lanerick, *Peter a packs* (*jugler*).
 Argyle, ~~Reliance~~ *Edz*, *Merchant of Middleburgh*.
 Chancelor, ~~Whigmore~~ or *Whirlegigg*.
 Lauerdale, *John Jackson*.
 Calender, *Almanak*.
 Lindsey, ~~Judz~~ *Bo*, *Zio*.
 Balmerenock, *Gamster*.
 Parliament of Scotland, *John Thomson's man*.
 Committee, *the Diminutive*.
 Assembly, *Goodwife that wears the breeches*.
 Presbiters, }
 Ministers, } *Rabbi Druidoe, Bardi*.
 Armie, *Metamore*.
 Shippes, *Sea Mawcs*.
 Sir Archibald Johnston, *Bees*.
 Cheeslie, *Gooscappe*.
 William Murray, *Amphibion* or *Negotiant*.
 Sir Robert Murray, *the Tutor*.
 David Leslie, *the Executioner*.
 The North, *the Snowe*.
 The South, *the Sunne*.
 Edinburgh, *Rotterdam*.
 London, *Amsterdam*.
 Parliament of England, *Corryuall*.
 Synod, *Apes* or *Munkies*.
 Southeske, *the ould man*.
 Trawhquair, *Versatilis*.
 Carnageny, *Our freinde*.
 Syuel, *Achates*.
 Ogylby, *Our cousin*.
 Lighcoe, *the Youth*.
 Carnwath, *the untrusty*.
 Dumfrise, *the Goodman*.
 Roxbrough, *Fox*.
 Huntley, *the Maurgame*.

Siefort, the Warry.

Mr Hope, Argiers.

"Any other names may be couched plainly, for or against them.

"Direct, to your lovinge freinde Mr Jameson, merchand, to be left at Robert Inglis, Merchand of London, neare London stone."

[Indorsed "Seuerall Cypher Keys," and headed, "Montrosse's Key, 1648."]

INSTRUCTIONS OF CHARLES II. TO MONTROSE.

It only remains to illustrate a circumstance deeply affecting the character of Charles II., and of Argyle as well as his covenanting coadjutors. On the fourth day after Montrose's execution the following scene occurred in Argyle's parliament, as noted at the time by the Lord Lyon. "Saturday, 25th May. A letter from the king's majesty to the parliament, dated from Breda, 12th May 1650, showing he was heartily sorry that *James Graham* had invaded this kingdom, and *how he had discharged him from doing the same*; and earnestly desires the estates of parliament to do himself that *justice* as not to believe that he was accessory to the said invasion *in the least degree*,—read. Also a double of his majesty's letter to *James Graham*, date 15th May [when Montrose was a prisoner] 1650, commanding him to lay down arms, and secure all the ammunition under his charge,—read in the house. The *Marquis of Argyle* reported to the house, that himself had a letter from the secretary, the *Earl of Lothian*, which showed him that his Majesty was *no ways sorry* that *James Graham* was defeated, in respect, as he said, he had made that invasion *without and contrary to his command*."

It happens, however, that the despatches sent at this time to Montrose from Breda, and carried by his relative Sir William Fleming, who was also the bearer of communications to and from the Scotch parliament, have been recently brought to light (as already mentioned), and are about to be made public, under the title of the Wigton Papers. In the preface to that valuable collection, the proof sheets of which have been kindly communicated to me, will be found some acute remarks by the editor, Mr Dennistoun, in reference to the complete contradiction which these original documents afford to this alleged *disobedience* of Montrose. Here it will be sufficient to note, 1st, Up to the 13th and 15th of May 1650, the king's *urgent* instructions to Montrose (as appears by the letters in the Montrose charter-chest) had been to *go on vigorously* in the plan of a hostile descent upon Scotland. Of the dates last mentioned, however, are his Majesty's private and public letters to the marquis telling him to lay down arms, in consequence of the state to which the treaty had then arrived; but expressing the greatest anxiety for the safety, honour, and comfort of Montrose, and the most

perfect approbation of his conduct. But, 2d, *Before these letters were written*, Montrose was in the hands of his enemies, and on his way to the scaffold. It would even appear that he was dead before they reached Scotland; for Sir William Fleming's pass from Breda is dated 20th of May, the day before the hero's execution. This, 3dly, must be particularly noted, That the letters of the 13th and 15th *were not the king's final instructions*; for, dated so late as the 19th, there is another letter from him to Montrose, telling him to take his instructions from Fleming; and those instructions are also with the other papers, and bear date 19th May 1650, the day before the date of Fleming's pass; in these last occurs this important instruction. "*You shall see if Montrose have a considerable number of men, and if he have, you must use your best endeavour to get them not to be disbanded;*" and further, "*In case my friends in Scotland do not think fit that Montrose lay down arms, that then as many as can may repair to him.*" As these instructions are only dated *two days* before the murder of the marquis, it is certain that he cannot have disobeyed any commands of the king to lay down arms. But is it *credible*, that after having sent off these dispatches, Charles could have been so insensibly dishonest as to authorize Lothian to write to Argyle that which the latter *verbally reported* to the parliament on the 25th of May? Montrose was betrayed into the hands of his enemies about the beginning of that month; the king knew nothing of his defeat until after the 19th, and, it would appear, he was not informed of it till the time when he heard of his execution, which occurred on the 21st. Is it possible that he would immediately authorize Lothian to write "that his Majesty was no ways sorry that James Graham was defeated, in respect, as he said, he had made that invasion *without and contrary to his command*,"—the king knowing by this time that no such instruction *could ever have reached Montrose*; and that his latest order, despatched to Scotland the day before the execution, was *not to disband*, except from absolute necessity? But whoever is answerable for this mean falsehood, which the marquis could no longer contradict, whether Argyle, Lothian, or Charles, certain it is that the hero's dying words were most true,—"*My coming in at this time was by his majesty's commands, in order to the accelerating the treaty betwixt him and you, his majesty knowing that whenever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call.*"

When Clarendon heard of the fate of Montrose he was ambassador at Madrid, from whence he thus writes to Queen Henrietta, 12th July 1650:—"How his majesty intends to dispose of his own person we know not; and if he be inclined for Scotland, we presume this monstrous proceeding with the brave Marquis of Montrose,—who, without doubt, was a *person of as great honour, and as exemplary integrity and loyalty*, as ever that nation bred,—will make his majesty as jealous for his own security as the weight of such an argument requires him

to be ; and we hope he hath many assurances in this treaty which we cannot apprehend, since he seems to recede so far from his former resolutions."—*Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii. p. 544.

Charles II., impatient to recover some portion of his dominions on any terms, set out for Scotland in the month of June 1650. But even when about to receive his worthless crown from Argyle, he thus wrote to the son of the murdered nobleman :—

" MY LORD OF MONTROSE,—Though your father is unfortunately lost, *contrary to my expectation*, yet I assure you, I shall have the same care for you as if he were still living and as able to serve me as ever ; and shall provide for your subsistence with that affection you have reason to expect from your affectionate friend,

" CHARLES R.

" June the 8th, 1650."

[*Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.]

A few years afterwards, this marquis, and his cousin Lord Napier, came from Holland to Scotland to aid in the rising against Cromwell, under Glencairn and Middleton ; an attempt, the utter failure of which afforded another illustration of the surpassing *genius* of the great commander who gained the battles of Alford and Kilsyth. Previous to this enterprise, Charles, again in exile, wrote the following letter to the young marquis, with which we may conclude the Life of Montrose :—

" *Chantilly*, Nov. 12, 1653.

" MY LORD MONTROSE,—When I hear of any honest man's being in arms in Scotland for my service, I think it a debt due from me to his father's memory, to put his son in mind what *he* would do, if he were now living. I cannot doubt your affection to me, or concernment for the honour and liberty of your country ; and therefore, I am sure I need not call upon you to engage with those who are now in arms for us all. I do only write this to you that you may know I have a particular care of you ; and be assured, that, in my affection to you, I shall show the value I have of the services and merit of your father, whose example you will endeavour to imitate in your zeal for your assured friend,

" CHARLES R."

[*Orig.*—Montrose charter-chest.]

THE END.











